ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. I .- No. XI .- NEW SERIES.

NOVEMBER 2, 1846.

PRICE 5d.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The following important communication has been made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to the First Lord of the Treasury. We earnestly and respectfully call the attention of our readers to it.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, HER MAJESTY'S FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, ETC. ETC.

My Lord—The suppression of the African slave-trade has long been ardently desired and earnestly pursued by the people of this country. Almost every means which private philanthropy or public benevolence could suggest, and which promised to realize that great object, have been tried. Successive Governments, with but few intervals of intermission, have for the last forty years exhausted the arts of diplomacy; and have employed a large naval force, in various parts of the world, to achieve the same end; but all efforts, whether public or private, have hitherto failed to extinguish the inhuman traffic; and must continue to fail so long as Slavery exists, and the demand for slaves, resulting from it, continues.

After twenty-one years of active and laborious efforts the African Institution left it on record, as the fruit of its experience, that "It is in Slavery that the Slave-trade has its origin; it is the market provided by the Slave-holder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it; and to the misery and desolation of a continent!" The fact, thus enunciated, indicates the true point of attack—Slavery must be abolished before the slave-trade can be suppressed.

In conformity with this view of the subject, the constitution of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society lays it down as a fundamental principle, "That so long as Slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade; and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings;" and, "that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character." To the peaceful extinction of slavery, the efforts of its executive Committee have been exclusively confined; and they now repeat their conviction, so often stated in memorials laid before Government, that the attempt to suppress the slave-trade by an armed force is not only vain in itself, but mischievous in its results.

In making this remark, the Committee would not be understood to reflect, in the slightest degree, on the present or any preceding Government. Strongly as many of them are opposed to the expediency, and others of them to the principle of the system of armed cruisers, they believe that the Government have been actuated, in all the measures they have adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade, by the most honourable intentions, and by a sincere desire to terminate an evil which has so long desolated Africa, and brought diagrace on the civilized world. They merely assert a melancholy truth, which the documents had before Parliament for many years past, incontestibly prove.

With respect to the extent of the slave-trade it appears that from the year 1816 to 1843, both inclusive, the number of African negroes landed, for the purposes of slavery, on the islands and on the continent of America, so far as the same could be made up from the official reports, was 657,187; of these, 18,042 were captured, and brought to, or driven on shore on the islands or coasts of America, and there liberated. But it is clear, from the documents on which this statement is founded, that a much larger number of slaves was landed than is here given. The number of vessels re-

ported to have landed their slaves during the period stated, was 2,313, of which the number of slaves on board 545 could not be ascertained. These slavers probably carried about 208,000 slaves, which, added to 657,000, will give a total of 865,000 victims for the twenty-seven years. Yet this estimate, fearful as it is in the aggregate, does not approach the actual number of wretched Africans who were torn from their homes, and securely landed in the transatlantic slave-markets. It is highly probable, that treble the number would scarcely approach the truth. At the present time, it is believed on good authority, that the number of Africans annually imported into the Spanish colonies and Brazil, amounts to from 80,000 to 100,000.

The great secrecy with which the slave-trade is now carried on, and the facilities which the extensive coasts of Cuba and Brazil offer for the landing of slaves, together with the connivance and venality of the authorities, render it impossible to obtain a correct estimate of the negroes imported, or the places at which they are landed. This is admitted by Her Majesty's Consular Agents and Commissioners residing in those countries. But all agree that the number is immense.

The latest official reports indicate an increased activity in the slave-trade. The Commissioners at Sierra Leone, in their report for 1844, say that, notwithstanding the augmentation of the cruisers, the addition of steam-vessels, and the increased vigilance of the squadron, "We believe that the slave-trade is increasing, and that it is conducted perhaps more systematically than it ever has been hitherto;" and they add, "Nearly all the former noted slave-haunts appear to be still frequented, and in spite of the stringent measures adopted by the British commodore with the powerful force under his command, there can be no question but that there has been a very large number of slaves transported both to Cuba and Brazil." Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at the Havana, in his report for the same year, gives it as his opinion that 10,000 Africans had been brought into slavery during that period, and adds "that the fears expressed in the report of the 1st of January, 1844, respecting an active continuance of the trade have been confirmed." gentleman further states, that if the average of the importations of slaves does not equal at the present time the number annually introduced previously to the administration of General Valdez, "the cause must be ascribed to the smaller demand for slaves, rather than to the diminished activity of the dealers, or prohibitory measures of the government," and he gives it as his opinion that "if it suited their interests to send vessels," whether from Havana or other parts of Cuba, he "doubts whether they would be deterred by the fear of the blockading squadron." Her Majesty's Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro, in their report, remark that "the importation of African slaves during the year 1844 has not diminished;" that the slave-dealers have "managed to obtain the cover of different flags, under which they place in Africa, without risk, the indispensable means of pursuing their nefarious trade;"—that enjoying "the certain protection of their own government on the shores and in the territorial waters of the empire, they cannot but augment their infamous transactions, stimulated by the profits they leave, and regardless of the horrors they occasion." profits must be immense; for we are told, on the same authority, "that the capture of four vessels would not subject them to loss, provided the fifth was successful in landing the slaves in Brazil." Among the instances given of the successful prosecution of this detestable traffic is that of Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, who, the Commissioners state, "has publicly declared, that his profits in the African trade alone, during the year 1844, were 1,200,000 000 reas, or about £150,000!"

With respect to the incompetency of an armed force to sup-

press the slave-trade, the foregoing facts might be deemed sufficient, but the papers laid before Parliament still further demonstrate this point. It appears from official returns, that from the year 1829 to 1844, both inclusive, the number of slavers captured and adjudicated in the Mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and other places, was 407, and the number of slaves liberated, 57,639. About 150 of the slavers were captured under the equipment article. In two cases the prosecution was abandoned by the captors, and in twenty cases no adjudication took place; so that the actual number of slavers condemned amounted to 385. But these captures were but few compared to the great number of cases which escaped the vigilance and activity of the British cruisers. The fact is, the skilful arrangements, the daring energy, and the personal impunity enjoyed by all parties engaged in the slave-trade, are found to be more than a match for the present, or, indeed, for any squadron of cruisers that can be employed on the coast of Africa, in that service.

It is evident to the Committee, that whilst vessels of all descriptions and sizes are employed in the slave-trade, few, comparatively, of the larger size are captured; and from facts which an analysis of the returns have brought to light, it would appear that many of the slavers taken, are used as decoys; and that the principal business of the British craisers now is to recapture old slavers. This fact is strikingly exhibited in the return made by Commodore Jones, of the slave-vessels detained by the squadron under his command from April 1, 1844, to August 26, 1845. The captures were 75. Of these, only 20 were detained for the first time; the others had passed the courts frequently, viz.:-14 had been condemned twice; 12 thrice; 9 four times; 5 five times; 4 six times; 3 seven times; 1 eight times; 1 nine times; 1 ten times; and 1 eleven times. Of these seventy-five slavers, fifteen only were captured with slaves on board, the rest were detained under the equipment article. These facts prove two things; first, that the losses of the slave-traffickers are not very heavy, especially, as through their agents at Sierra Leone and elsewhere, they have the power of re-purchasing the detained vessels and their stores, at extremely low rates, and of sending them forth again and again on their detestable voyages; and, secondly, that this country is put to heavy charges, in the shape of prize-money, on ves which are frequently captured under circumstances which scarcely admit of a doubt of their having been used as decoys.

Confining their attention to the official reports, the Committee conceive that it is established beyond all doubt, that the slavetrade, in defiance of all the efforts made to suppress it, is carried on to an enormous extent-that it is regulated simply by the demand for fresh victims-that it yields immense profitsit meets with no real obstructions either in the Spanish colonies or in Brazil-and that the captures made by the British cruisers serve only to stimulate the criminals engaged in it to greater exertions, to more combined and systematized efforts for its successful prosecution, and to more daring exploits. If such be the results of the cruising system, viewed merely in relation to the extent of the slave-trade, it may be fairly asked, Why it is continued? The Anti-slavery Committee conceive that no satisfactory reasons can be given in reply. But when viewed in relation to the waste of life and treasure which it occasions, and the aggravated miseries it inflicts on those it was meant to protect and defend, they conceive that the strongest reasons exist for its

It is impossible, perhaps, to give an exact estimate of the sums of money which have been expended by this country in the attempt to suppress the slave-trade. It is highly probable, however, that twenty millions of pounds sterling have been devoted, first and last, to this branch of the public service. There is not only the direct expense incurred by the cruisers which have been employed on the coasts of Africa, the West Indies, and Brazil, but that which has been paid to foreign powers to secure their co-operation, the expenditure in and for Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Fernando Po, bounties paid to captors of slavers, salaries to the Mixed Commissions, pensions, &c., &c., &c. According to the latest estimate, the charge for the suppression of the slave-trade is stated as follows:—Vessels employed on the West Coast of Africa, £291,501, and for vessels

mployed on that coast, £414,953; total, £706,454, and new seems paid to Captors, Mixed Commission Courts, by the amount actually expended is more than a sterling per annum. So vast an expenditure

on ineffective efforts to suppress this hateful traffic, clearly show the impolicy of the measures hitherto adopted to secure that end.

But to this expenditure must be added the loss of life sustained by the cruisers on the pestilential shores of Africa, from which the dangerous and the destructive character of the service to British officers and seamen becomes apparent. By returns made in 1841, it appears that, during the preceding eleven years, the number of deaths on the west African station amounted to 840, of whom eighteen were killed in action with slavers. The number wounded is not given, nor the amount of invalids sent home during the period, but they must have been considerable. The number of cruisers employed varied from year to year from seven to nineteen, and complement of men from 710 to 1536. The deaths, &c., which took place on board of vessels employed in the same service in the West Indies, Brazil, &c., are not given. A more perfect return for 1845 has, however, been laid before Parliament, from which it appears that the number of ships of war of all classes employed for the suppression of the slave-trade was 56, mounting 886 guns, and manned by 9,289 men. The mortality and casualties are stated as follows:-Number of deaths of officers and men in vessels employed on the West Coast of Africa, 166, and in those not exclusively employed on that coast, 93-total, 259; officers and men invalided, 271, making a grand total of 530. Such a waste of life and health in a service which, it must be allowed, has failed in its object, is greatly to be deplored. But when it is found associated with other evils of a more aggravated character, that, in point of fact, it increases, rather than diminishes the horrors of the traffic, it may be hoped that the Government will pause before it sanctions the continuance of the system, or recommends further grants of the public money for its support.

The frightful misery and death to which the armed suppression of the slave-trade gives rise on board the slavers, is most afflicting. Since the traffic has been declared contraband, it is an undoubted fact that the vessels employed in the transport of slaves from Africa to Cuba and Brazil have been constructed rather for swift sailing than for stowage, and yet, that on board of them incredible numbers of slaves are usually packed. The history of human suffering and crime presents no picture so truly heart-rending and revolting as that which is frequently witnessed on board the slavers. In the list of captures furnished by Com. Jones for 1844-5, we find a felucca of ten tons loaded with 40 slaves, another of 81 tons with 312 slaves, a schooner of 94 tons, with 444 slaves, a brigantine of 67 tons, with 435 slaves, and another of 130 tons, with 685 slaves, besides their crews and stores! Of course the most frightful misery, disease, and death, result from this over-crowding; and the wretched victims who survive the perils of their voyage, are usually in so diseased and emaciated a state as might justly fill with indignation and sorrow the hearts of all not hardened by participation in this atrocious trade. Even in those cases in which the cruisers have been successful for a time, in driving the slavers from particular parts of the coast, the slaves accumulated in the barracoons for shipment have suffered "much disease and mortality from the crowded state of those places, and a scarcity of food," as may be seen from the last official report of the Commissioners at Sierra Leone. The Committee would add that there are good grounds for believing that, in some of these cases, the slaves are deliberately butchered to avoid the cost of their maintenance, and the trouble of securing them.

It is then incontrovertible that the coercive principle as applied to the suppression of the slave-trade has failed, that it costs this country an immense amount of treasure—that it wastes the health and lives of British seamen—that it aggravates the horrors, without sensibly mitigating the extent, of the traffic—and that some other means must be found, if ever this scourge of the human race be removed.

No hope can reasonably be indulged that the Spanish and Brazilian governments will fulfil their engagements for the suppression of the Slave-trade. Their bad faith stands conspicuous before the world. It is vain, therefore, to expect their cordial and zealous co-operation in this great work. So long as slavery exists in any part of their dominions, the African slave-trade will be viewed as a necessity, and though not openly justified, will be secretly fostered and encouraged.

It was this view of the case which induced the late government to refuse the claim of the Spanish crown to admit the sugars of Cuba and Porto Rico into the British markets, on equal terms with the free produce of other states. In the official correspondence on this subject, Lord Aberdeen expressed himself in the following

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terms :- "The Spanish government well know how thoroughly the abolition of the slave-trade has become a national object with the people of this country, and how earnestly every person charged with the administration of the Government in England has pursued it. They know that, although nearly every Christian government has united with Great Britain for that end, the accomplishment is still far off. They know also that treaties and enactments which have been framed against the slave-trade have hitherto entirely failed to counteract the deeply-rooted influence and greedy doings of the slave-dealers in the island of Cuba. The undersigned will not prolong this note by inquiring to what causes this is attributable: it is a subject which has unfortunately too often occupied the correspondence of the two governments; but the fact itself cannot be disputed, and the fact alone will explain the reluctance of her Majesty's Government to extend to the West Indian Colonies of Spain the favour which they have gladly accorded to her possessions in the east; but which in Cuba, could not fail to give a great additional stimulus to the guilty exertions of the slave-dealer."

The unscrupulous dishonesty of the Brazilian, is equally notorious with that of the Spanish government. That government has steadily refused to carry into effect its most solemn engagements. Every treaty and convention for the suppression of the slave-trade has been unblushingly violated; so that it became necessary two years ago to pass a law to empower Her Majesty to act independently of Brazil in the seizure and condemnation of vessels, covered by its flag, found engaged in the slave-trade. In communicating the decision of the Government to Mr. Hamilton, the British minister at Rio, Lord Aberdeen writes as follows:—"It is, unhappily, notorious, that vessels intended for the slave-trade are fitted out almost daily in the ports of Brazil; that of the slave-ships met with in the African seas, three-fourths are under the imperial flag, or are prosecuting the trade on account of Brazilian subjects; that along the southern coast of the empire there is scarcely a creek where a landing is practicable, which is not become known as a resort and a refuge to slave-dealers; that the importation of human beings as slaves into Brazil, far from being discountenanced as a violation of law and treaty, is favoured by the local authorities; and that even in the Legislative Assemblies the trade is avowed as one in respect to which it is not necessary, or even becoming, that the government should keep the faith of their treaties with Great Britain.'

But there are other parties besides those already mentioned who, regardless of the laws of their respective countries, the interests of humanity, and the claims of religion, aid, and abet, and profit by this nefarious trade. They veil their proceedings, so that they may partake of its guilty profits without subjecting themselves to the penalties of the laws which they violate; and conscious of the impunity which they enjoy, they scorn the fetters attempted to be imposed upon them, and secretly and efficiently aid those directly employed in the trade. It was not without reason that Mr. Wise, the American Minister at Rio, addressed the British Minister, Mr. Hamilton, at the close of the year, 1844, in the following terms:-"And this, and much more besides, proves that all future efforts will be as vain as the past to arrest the African slave-trade, unless other and entirely new measures are taken. These facts show you, Sir, in the first place, that it is worse than idle for Great Britain to reproach the United States for permitting their flag and their vessels to be the common carriers, as long as British manufacturers, merchants, brokers, and capitalists, are allowed to furnish the very pabulum of the slave-trade. Why shoul! the United States most vindictively punish as pirates the poor ignorant masters, mates, and crews of their vessels, when they are but the tempted tools of highly respectable English and Brazilian gentlemen, merchants, manufacturers, capitalists of money and of character, owners of vessels, brokers, and consignees, and large slave-dealers, too rich to be within the reach of the halter of the law? And cui bono, if American merchants and goods are to be driven away, and American consignees, factors, and agents are to be subjected to like penalties as masters, mates, and crews (which they are not subjected to), just to yield the use of our vessels and flag to the consignees, factors, and agents, of Great Britain and Brazil?"

Such are the facts of the case. Neither Spain nor Brazil will give effect to its engagements; neither will employ the means within its power, for the suppression of the slave-trade; and, less than ever, can they now be expected to do so, when the motives for carrying it on have been greatly strengthened by the recent alteration in the sugar duties. Besides which, it is evident that, under the colourable pretence of legitimate commerce, British and American manufacturers and merchants furnish the means; and that

the ship-owners and masters of almost all maritime countries, lend their aid to its prosecution in order that they may share inits gains. In face of such a combination of circumstances and interests, and with an ever-increasing demand for slaves, to meet the wastes of life connected with the slave-system, and to extend cultivation, it is impossible to suppress the traffic by any amount of force that can be brought against it.

In the important letter which your lordship addressed to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, on the 26th of December, 1839, relating to the slave-trade, your lordship reviewed the facts of the case as they then existed. From that important docuument the Committee make the following extracts, in confirmation of their general views. Your lordship said: - "I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the average number of slaves imported into foreign states or colonies in the West Indies, from the west coast of Africa, annually exceeds 100,000 . . . But the number of slaves actually landed in the importing countries affords but a very imperfect indication of the real extent of the calamities which this traffic inflicts on its victims. No record exists of the multitudes who perish in the overland journey to the African coast, or in the passage across the Atlantic, or of the still greater number who fall sacrifice to the warfare, pillage, and cruelties by which the slavetrade is fed. Unhappily, however, no fact can be more certain, than that such an importation as I have mentioned, presupposes and involves a waste of human life, and a sum of human misery, proceeding from year to year, without respite or intermission, to such an extent as to render the subject the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate." Your lordship then asked, "Why the costly efforts in which Great Britain has so long been engaged for repressing the foreign slave-trade have proved ineffectual?" Without dwelling on "the many concurrent causes of failure," your lordship refers to the vast profits of the trade, and the impunity which its abettors enjoy in the countries with which it is carried on; and you add, "Under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard could scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil that can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties." In that conclusion, in its application to the present, as well as the past state of the traffic, the Committee most entirely concur.

What then, the Committee respectfully ask, is to be done? The Government having abandoned the policy of excluding the slave-produced sugars of the Spanish colonies and Brazil from the British markets; and opened the ports to their reception in common with the free products of free countries—a measure which they doubt not will greatly stimulate the slave-trade, and strengthen the system of slavery—there appears to them but the following means left to the Government of attacking it with success, and which they respectfully submit to its grave consideration.

First.—The Committee earnestly trust that Her Majesty's Government will recall the cruisers from the coast of Africa, and abandon a scheme of coercive suppression which has been found, in operation, powerless for good, and productive of many and great evils. In recommending this course, the Committee feel that it is equally called for by justice and benevolence. A large annual expenditure of money and of life on the coast of Africa cannot be justified, when no end is really secured, but that of giving intensity to the miseries of the African slaves. The Spanish colonies and Brazil will continue to feed their plantations with new victims, in proportion to the increasing demands of commerce; and this country, it is now evident, cannot prevent them. To withdraw, then, from a useless conflict is necessary, and cannot be dishonourable. Should the Government, in view of all the facts of the case, resolve upon this step, the Committee would urgently recommend, that the funds that will be saved thereby, may be applied to the development of the free produce of British India. If, in any part of the British empire, the means of competing with slave-labour produce in the markets of the world, can be found, it will be found there. Possessed of boundless resources, both of soil and labour, all that is required is, that its means of internal transit should be perfected, the irrigation of its cultivable lands secured; its labour freed from all unjust restrictions; and that those great public works, the importance of which is universally admitted, should be prosecuted, in order to secure to the capitalist and to the farmer the fair reward of their risks and their toil. Were these things attended to without unnecessary delay, there would be no necessity for transporting, at an enormous cost, the

labourers of India to the British colonies for the cultivation of sugar. The delta of the Godavery and the Valley of the Ganges, would supply that article in the greatest abundance, and at the smallest cost. To carry capital to the plantation in British India is, in the judgment of the Committee, wiser than to transport labourers from British India to the plantations in Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad; or, to use your lordship's words in your despatch to Governor Light, on immigration, dated 15th, February, 1840, "it is mere matter of calculation to the capitalist what sugar will cost him to raise in Hindostan, to bring to England, and clear of duty; and, whether all this done, he can compete successfully with the Demerara planter. If he can, the sugar business will rise in Bengal, and the Coolie remain at home; the plantation will be found for the labourer, and not the labourer go to the plantation."

Secondly.-The Committee respectfully suggest that Her Majesty's Government should require the liberation of all slaves introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil, contrary to the faith of treaties, and who are entitled by the law of those countries, as well as by treaty, to their liberty, without delay and without restriction. This would strike a blow at the root of the evil. The negociations which Lord Palmerston formerly opened with the Spanish government on this subject, and which it is evident his lordship intended to apply to the Brazilian also, produced the most salutary effects. Though these negociations were suspended during the period of Lord Aberdeen's tenure of office, they were never formally abandoned; and, it is now hoped, they will be renewed, and prosecuted with the vigour which their importance demands. Great Britain is, the Committee affirm, the guardian of the freedom of the vast multitudes of Africans who have been illegally introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil; and by exhibiting berself as such, in the eyes of the world, as she ought to do, she will do more to break up the atrocious system of slavery, and its horrible adjunct, the slavetrade, than perhaps by any other means now within her power.

Thirdly.—The Committee would further suggest, that measures should be adopted in relation to Africa, which should facilitate the operations of free labour on that continent. At present, even the British settlements do not enjoy the same commercial advantages with this country, as foreign states, in respect to the produce which they do or can raise. This anomaly in our commercial code, the Committee trust, will be remedied as early as possible;

d that every kind of produce from the British African settlements will be admitted to the home markets on the same duties as those from the British colonies, and from British India.

The Government, the Committee are persuaded, possess the means, and they most earnestly hope they will be inclined to use them, for the overthrow of slavery, and the establishment of freedom throughout the world.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,

(On behalf of the Committee,)
Your Lordship's obedient Servant,
(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

October 20th, 1846.

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REPLY.

Downing-street, Oct. 17, 1846.

Sir—I am desired by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you have addressed him on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, containing suggestions for the abolition of Slavery.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

GEORGE KEPPEL.

John Scoble, Esq.

THOMAS CLARKSON.

This distinguished philanthropist, whose death we briefly announced in the last Reporter, was son of the Rev. W. Clarkson, formerly Master of the Grammar School at Wisbech. He was born in that town on the 26th of March, 1760, and received the rudiments of education under the care of his father. At twelve years of age he was removed to St. Paul's School, London, and subsequently graduated at St. John's, Cambridge. He was designed for the Church, in which he took deacon's orders, but

subsequently abandoned the intention, and devoted himself to that great work, the abolition of the slave-trade, with which his name will ever be honourably associated.

It was in the year 1785, when Mr. Clarkson was twenty-five years of age, that his attention was first specially directed to the slave-trade. In that year, the enlightened Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Dr. Peckard, gave out two subjects for Latin dissertations, the prizes to be competed for by the middle and senior bachelors of arts. To the latter he proposed the following theme: Anne liceat Invitos in Servitutem dare? or, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their wills?"

During the preceding year, Mr. Clarkson obtained a prize for the best Latin dissertation; and fearing that his reputation would be lowered in the estimation of his college, he determined upon a resolute effort to obtain the prize proposed by Dr. Peckard. Under the influence of this literary ambition he commenced his inquiries; but he soon found himself at a loss for materials on which to form an enlightened judgment on the African slave-trade, to which he considered the thesis to point. He therefore repaired to London where he obtained Anthony Benezer's Historical Account of Guinea. "In this precious book," he says, "I found almost all I wanted. I obtained by means of it, a knowledge of, and access to, the great authorities of Adanson, Moore, Barbot, Smith, Bosman, and others." With this rich prize he began his work, which, as it grew upon his hands, produced a great revolution in his thoughts and feelings. The contemplation of the horrid facts which it revealed, soon dispelled the dream of literary distinction with which he had delighted himself, and induced him to produce a work of solid utility, rather than of brilliant execution. It would do injustice to the subject to substitute any other narrative than his own unaffected and touching one, of the change produced in him by the study of his subject. Mr. Clarkson says,—

"No person can tell the severe trial which the writing of it proved to me. I had expected pleasure from the invention of the arguments, from the arrangement of them, from putting of them together, and from thought in the interim that I was engaged in an innocent contest for literary honour. But all my pleasure was damped by the facts which were now continually before me. It was but one gloomy subject from morning to night. In the daytime I was uneasy. In the night I had little rest. I sometimes never closed my eyelids for grief. It became now not so much a trial for academical reputation, as for the production of a work which might be useful to injured Africa. And keeping this in my mind ever after the perusal of Benezet, I always slept with a candle in my room, that I might rise out of bed and put down such thoughts as might occur to me in the night, if I judged them valuable; conceiving that no arguments of any moment should be lost in so great a cause. Having at length finished this painful task, I sent my essay to the Vice-Chancellor, and soon afterwards found myself honoured, as before, with the first prize."

The impressions of Mr. Clarkson were still further deepened on the occasion of his reading his essay in the Senate House, according to custom. On this remarkable period in his history, he observes:—

"As it is usual to read these essays publicly in the Senate House soon after the prize is adjudged, I was called to Cambridge for this purpose; I went and performed my office. On returning, however, to London, the subject of it almost wholly engrossed my thoughts. I became at times very seriously affected while upon the road. I stopped my horse occasionally, and dismounted and walked; I frequently tried to persuade myself in these intervals, that the contents of my essay could not be true. The more, however, I reflected upon them, or rather upon the authorities on which they were founded, the more I gave them credit. Coming in sight of Wades Mill, in Hertfordshire, I sat down disconsolate on the turf by the roadside, and held my horse. Here a thought came into my mind, that if the contents of the essay were true, it was time some person should see these calamities to their end. Agitated in this manner, I reached home. This was in the summer of 1785."

From this time Mr. Clarkson's attention was absorbed by the question of duty. He feared that he was disqualified by his youth and inexperience for the great work to which his mind and heart were evidently directed. One thing, however, he felt was within his power. He could translate his Latin Dissertation, and that might have a tendency to abolish the slave-trade. Upon this he resolved, and commenced the work in November, 1785. By the middle of January, 1786, he had finished half of it, and enriched it with considerable additions. Having advanced to this point on his labours, he sought out a publisher. For this purpose he applied to Mr. Cadell, in the Strand, but the way in which he met the

proposition did not harmonize with Mr. Clarkson's intentions, and he left him to attend an engagement in the city. What subsequently transpired, he refers to in the following terms:—

"In going past the Royal Exchange, Mr. Joseph Hancock, one of the religious Society of Quakers, and with whose family my own had been long united in friendship, suddenly met me. He first accosted me by saying that I was the person whom he was wishing to see. He then asked me why I had not published my prize essay. I asked him in return what had made him think of that subject in particular? He replied, that his own Society had long taken it up as a religious body, and individuals among them were wishing to find me out. I asked him who. He answered, James Phillips, a bookseller, in George-yard, Lombard-street; and William Dillwyn, Walthamstow, and others. Having but little time to spare, I asked him to introduce me to one of them. In a few minutes he took me to James Phillips (who was then the only one of them in town) by whose conversation I was so much interested and encouraged, that without any further hesitation I offered him the publication of my work."

Shortly after this he saw William Dillwyn at Walthamstow, and from him learned many important facts relating to the slave-trade and slavery as they existed in the United States, and of the measures which had been taken for their abolition. "How surprised was I," says Mr. Clarkson, "to hear in the course of his conversation, of the labours of Granville Sharp, of the writings of Ramsay, and of the controversy in which the latter was engaged, of all of which I had hitherto known nothing! How surprised was I to learn that William Dillwyn himself had, two years before, associated himself with five others for the purpose of enlightening the public mind upon this great subject! How astonished was I to find that a society had been formed in America for the same object; with some of the principal members he was intimately acquainted! And how still more astonished at the inference which instantly rushed upon my mind, that he was capable of being made the great medium of connection between them all. These thoughts overpowered me. My mind was overwhelmed with the thought, that I had been providentially directed to his house; that the finger of Providence was beginning to be discernible; that the day-star of African liberty was rising, and that probably I might be permitted to become an humble instrument in promoting it." The parties connected with William Dillwyn, in the object referred to, were George Harrison, Samuel Hoare, Thomas Knowles, M.D., John Lloyd, and Joseph Woods. The first meeting they held was on the 7th of July, 1783. At this "they assembled to consider what steps they should take for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa." They laboured privately, through the medium of the London and provincial press, and by the publication of books, the first of which, Thoughts on the Slavery of the Negroes, was written by Joseph Woods, a member of the committee. Mr. Clarkson was afterwards introduced to that eminent philanthropist, Granville Sharpe, the father of British Abolitionists, with whom he had many interesting interviews, and whom he discovered to be a distant relation by his mother's side.

In the month of June, 1786, his Dissertation, in its English form, was ushered into the world under the title of An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African. He then commenced its circulation, and sought and found friends, in many directions, who greatly aided him in giving it a wide diffusion. Among those to whom he was introduced was Sir Charles and Lady Middleton, at Teston Park. Lady Middleton was deeply interested in the question, and urged on her husband the duty of publicly advocating the African cause. It was on one of his visits to Sir C. Middleton, that Mr. Clarkson made the declaration-" I am ready to devote myself to the cause." On reflecting, however, on the declaration he had made, and the various difficulties he would have to encounter, he became uneasy He thought of the magnitude of the work of the funds that would be required to prosecute it successfullythat whoever undertook it must make it the business of his life; but after a calm review of all the circumstances of the case, he felt "that, if a man thought properly, he ought to rejoice that he was called into existence, if he were permitted only to become an instrument in forwarding it in any part of its progress." Yet when he thought of his profession and his prospects, he was staggered at the sacrifice he must make. Describing the conflict in his mind Mr. Clarkson says-

"I had been designed for the church; I had already advanced as far as deacon's orders in it; my prospects there, on account of my connections,

were brilliant—and that by appearing to desert my profession, my family would be dissatisfied, if not unhappy. These thoughts pressed upon me, and rendered the conflict difficult. But the sacrifice of my prospects staggered me, I own, the most. I had ambition—I had a thirst after worldly interests and honours, and I could not extinguish it at once. At length I yielded—not because I saw any reasonable prospect of success in my new undertaking, but in obedience, I believe, to a higher power." And, he adds, "I can say, that both on the moment of this resclution, and for some time afterwards, I had more sublime and happy feelings than at any former period of my life."

This was the mental and moral discipline Mr. Clarkson passed through to fit him for his part in the great work of slave-trade abolition. He communicated, personally, the resolution he had taken to the friends in London, and with them concerted the means for giving it effect. He was determined to proceed at once to the circulation of his Essay among the members of the legislature, to wait personally upon several of them,—and to proceed, as opportunity afforded, in enlarging his knowledge of the subject. Among those whom he visited was Mr. Wilberforce, who stated at his first interview, "that the subject had often employed his thoughts, and that it was near his heart."

This memorable interview with Mr. Wilberforce led to others, and finally to that illustrious man engaging to bring forward the measure in Parliament when better prepared for it, and provided no more proper person could be found. This resolution Mr. Clarkson was permitted to announce to his friends in London, who forthwith resolved to form a committee for the purpose of effecting the abolition of the slave-trade. On the 22nd of May, 1787, the following persons met for that purpose-viz., Granville Sharp, Joseph Woods, Samuel Hoare, Jun., William Dillwyn, George Harrison, James Phillips, Richard Phillips, Thomas Clarkson, Philip Sansom, John Lloyd, Joseph Hooper, and John Barton, all of whom were members of the Society of Friends with the exception of Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, and Philip Sansom. At their first meeting, after taking the slave-trade into consideration, they resolved "that the slave-trade was both impolitic and unjust." Thus was laid the foundation of that mighty struggle for human rights which has, under the divine blessing, led to such glorious results. From this time the labours of these worthy men were unwearied both in obtaining and diffusing correct information relative to the hateful traffic in human beings, and their treatment on the plantations in America and the West Indies. All the youthful ardour, the active industry, the persevering effort, and the indomitable courage of Thomas Clarkson, were called into requisition, and nobly did he fulfil the mission confided to his care. "For seven years," he says, "I had a correspondence to maintain with four hundred persons. I had some work or other annually to write for the cause. During this time I had travelled more than 35,000 miles in search of evidence, performing a great part of these journeys in the night. All this time my mind had been incessantly on the stretch upon one subject only, for I had no leisure to attend to my own concerns. The various instances of barbarity that had frequently come under my notice had vexed, harassed, and afflicted me. The wounds thus inflicted had been deepened by the cruel disappointment I had so often experienced by the reiterated refusal of persons to give their testimony after I had travelled hundreds of miles in quest of them." It was no wonder that with this pressure his health gave way, and that for eight or nine years he was compelled to seclude himself from active employ-

When in London, he was a diligent attendant on the committee, and was constantly occupied in forwarding, both in public and in private, the great cause he had so much at heart. It appears, however, that generally he was absent at least three months in every year, travelling throughout the kingdom, searching for and forming that great body of evidence which proved of such signal service, in exposing the extent and the atrocities of the slave-trade, and in promoting petitions to Parliament.

Among the first religious bodies to notice the existence of the committee, was the Society of Friends. Faithful to their convictions of duty, they were led to express, in their yearly epistle, their thankfulness that among many, not of their body, there was a growing attention to the subject of negro slavery and the slave-trade. They were followed by the General Baptists, who stated that they approved their proceedings, and would countenance the object of their institution. The Baptists were followed by the Dissenting ministers of Devon and Cornwall, who expressed their

high approbation of the conduct of the committee, and offered their services in the promotion of this great work of humanity and religion.

The first individual of importance that addressed the committee was Mr. William Smith, then member for Norwich, who encouraged them in their work, and promised his co-operation. This excellent man, throughout the whole course of his parliamentary career, rendered the African cause the most essential service. He was the intimate friend of Mr. Wilberforce, and sustained him in his splendid parliamentary efforts for the abolition of the slavetrade. In the year 1791, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Muncaster, and Mr. Burgh, were elected members of the committee. Among the distinguished men who were added to the honorary corresponding members of the Society were General Lafayette, M. Brissot, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay.

The first report of the committee was published on the 15th of January, 1788. Adverting to the labours of Mr. Clarkson, they say, "To the abilities and unremitting assiduity of the Rev. Thomas Clarkson in these researches, the Society are much indebted." And to him they were eminently due.

It would be impossible to compress within the space allowed us the various incidents which stimulated the exertions of the committee from this period until the accomplishment of its work. It may be sufficient to say that, until providentially laid aside by ill-health, Mr. Clarkson was its grand moving spirit, and that on his recovery, he resumed, with his characteristic ardour, the great object of his life, until it was finished.

In April, 1788, the great William Pitt, in consequence of the illness of Mr. Wilberforce, sent for Granville Sharpe, the President of the Committee, who had a full opportunity afforded him of explaining that the desire of the committee went to the entire abolition of the slave-trade. Mr. Pitt assured him that his heart was with them, and that he considered himself pledged to Mr. Wilberforce, that the cause should not sustain injury from his indisposition; but at the same time stated that the subject was of great political importance, and that it was requisite to proceed in the business with temper and prudence. In the early part of the following month, Mr. Pitt brought forward his motion in the following terms: "That the House will, early in the next sessions of Parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade complained of in the said petitions, and what may be fit to be done thereupon." In the meantime, both the friends and foes of the African cause were busily engaged in laying evidence before the Privy Council on the great subject which so deeply engaged their attention.

In March, 1789, Charles James Fox gave the committee the assurance of his disposition to co-operate with them in their endeavours to abolish the slave-trade. On the 12th of May, in the same year, Mr. Wilberforce brought on his celebrated motion relating to the traffic. The ability which he displayed on that occasion was thus acknowledged by the committee: resolved, "That the chairman be requested to convey the thanks of the Society to William Wilberforce, Esq., for the unparalleled assiduity and perseverance with which he has promoted the cause of this Society, and for the very able and satisfactory manner in which he stated to the House of Commons on the 12th inst. his propositions for the abolition of the African slave-trade."

In 1790, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion; but the combination against him was too powerful to be overcome. Alarms were industriously circulated that the success of his exertions would bring "ruin and bloodshed to the colonies, destruction to the masters, and wretchedness ten-fold worse than slavery to the slaves." Alluding to this opposition, the Report of the Committee for 1790, eays:—

"In the progress of this business a powerful combination of interests has been excited against us. The African trader, the planter, and the West Indian merchant, have united their forces to defend the fortress in which their supposed treasures lie. Vague calculations and false alarms arising from them have been thrown out to the public, attempting to show that the constitution, and even the existence, of this free and opulent nation depend on its depriving the inhabitants of a foreign country of those rights and that liberty which we ourselves so highly and so justly prise."

The House of Commons as well as the Privy Council, however, had entered upon an examination of the evidence relating to the slave-trade, and, as might be expected, the committee were using their utmost efforts to give it effect. It was during the year that

Mr. Clarkson paid his memorable visit to Paris on the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce. It was a service of peril; and, so far as he was concerned, was faithfully performed. It issued, however, in nothing of importance. During Mr. Clarkson's visit he had the advantage of frequent intercourse with M. Necker, the Marquis de la Fayette, the Count Mirabeau, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, the Marquis de Condorcet, MM. Brissot de Warville, Clarière, Pelion de Villeneuve, the Abbé Siéyes, the Bishop of Chartres, the Abbé Greyoire, aud other distinguished persons; all of whom were deeply interested in the subject which he brought under their attention.

In April, 1791, Mr. Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in "a bill to prevent the further importation of slaves into the British colonies in the West Indies." He was defeated; but the committee did not lose courage. They met and resolved:—

"That the thanks of this committee be respectfully given to the illustrious minority of the House of Commons, who lately stood forth the assertors of British justice and humanity, and the enemies of a traffic in the blood of man: that our acknowledgments are particularly due to William Wilberforce, Esq., for his unwearied exertions to remove this opprobrium of our national character; and to the Right Hon. William Pitt, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, for their virtuous and dignified co-operation in the same cause; that the solemn declarations of these gentlemen, and of Matthew Montagu and William Smith, Esqrs., that they will not relinquish, but with their lives, their struggle for the abolition of the slave-trade, are not only highly honourable to themselves as Britons, as statesmen, and as Christians, but must eventually, as the light of evidence shall be more and more diffused, be seconded by the good wishes of every man not immediately interested in the continuance of that detestable commerce."

Under these circumstances the committee considered "the late decision in the House of Commons as a delay rather than a defeat." They were stimulated to fresh exertions. An abridgment of all the evidence obtained, was profusely circulated. Mr. Clarkson, like a messenger of light, traversed the nation. The public mind was stirred up. Three hundred and ten petitions were presented from England; one hundred and eighty-seven from Scotland; and twenty from Wales; and, it is supposed, that upwards of 300,000 persons at this period refrained from the use of sugar altogether, in testimony of their abhorrence of the guilty traffic.

On the 2nd of April, 1792, Mr. Wilberforce moved the following resolution in the House of Commons-viz., "That it is the opinion of the committee that the trade carried on by British subjects for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa ought to be abolished." In the event of his carrying this resolution, he intended to follow it by another-viz., "That the chairman be directed to move the House for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade." Upon which Mr. Dundas moved the question of adjournment, but was defeated: Noes 234, Ayes 87-against adjourning, 147. Mr. Dundas then moved that the "gradually" should be inserted as an amendment; upon which the House divided: Ayes 193, Noes 125-Majority in favour of the amendment, 68. The amendment was then put and carried. -Ayes 230; Noes 85-Majority for a gradual abolition of the slave-trade, 145. As usual, the committee expressed their cordial thanks to Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, and others, who sustained his motion. They considered the decision of the House to have established the cruelty and injustice of the traffic, and resolved, "That a gradual abolition of the slave-trade is not an adequate remedy for its injustice and cruelty;" and therefore, they called upon all their friends to demand "the immediate abolition of that inhuman and destructive traffic."

It now devolved on Mr. Dundas to bring in a measure for the gradual abolition of the slave-trade, which he did on the 23rd of April following. By that bill he intended to abolish that part of the trade by which we supplied foreigners with slaves; and to allow the continuance of it to the British colonies to the 1st of January, 1800. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fox, and others, spoke against the bill, and the debate was adjourned to the 25th inst., when it was resumed. Lord Mornington (afterwards Marquis of Wellesley) concluded an excellent speech by moving, "That the year 1793 be substituted in the place of the year 1800." Mr. Windham also spoke in favour of immediate abolition. The amendment, however, was lost upon a division. For the original motion the votes were 158, and for the amendment, 109. The subject was resumed on the 29th inst. Mr. Dundas moved, as before, that the slave-trade should cease in the year 1800; upon which Lord Mornington moved that the year 1795 should be

substituted. Mr. Addington preferred the year 1796 to the year 1795. When the division took place, there appeared for the original motion, 161, and for the amendment, 121. Sir Edward Knatchbull, observing the disposition of the House to bring the matter to a conclusion, moved that the year 1796 should be substituted for the year 1800. Upon this the House divided again, when there appeared for the original motion only 132, but for the amendment, 151. The gradual abolition having been determined upon to take place in 1796, a committee was named to carry the resolution to the House of Lords. On the 8th of May, the Lords decided in favour of the resolution by 63 against 36 votes. On the 15th of May the Lords met again, and ordered evidence to be produced. A few witnesses having been examined, further proceedings were postponed to the next session. Mr. Clarkson again started in quest of additional evidence, in which he and his coadjutor, Dr. Dickson, obtained considerable success.

Parliament having met, Mr. Wilberforce in 1793 moved, "that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on Thursday next, to consider of the circumstances of the slave-trade." The motion was lost by a majority of 61 to 53. Mr. Wilberforce, however, resolved to make another attempt; and accordingly, on the 14th of May, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to abolish that part of the trade by which British merchants supplied foreigners with slaves. This motion was carried by a majority of seven. This bill was brought in, and passed its first and second reading without opposition; but on the 5th of June, notwithstanding the eloquence of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and the able speeches of others, it was lost by a majority of 31 to 29. In the Lords the proposition for the abolition of the slave-trade met with the most determined opposition from the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV.) and the Earl of Abingdon. To the injurious epithets applied to the Abolitionists by this nobleman, the Duke of Clarence added those of "fanatics" and "hypocrites," among whom he included Mr. Wilberforce by name. The Lords continued to hear evidence; Mr. Clarkson again actively employed in procuring evidence. At this time, however, his health was seriously affected; nevertheless, he continued his labours from the beginning of September, 1793, to February, 1794, when he completed them.

The proceedings of the House of Commons, and the dilatory movements of the Lords, greatly alarmed the friends of abolition. They feared that the resolution of the Commons to abolish the slave-trade in 1796 might be totally defeated, and the hopes, conceived from the numerous petitions of the people, be disappointed.

Mr. Wilberforce renewed his bill in 1794, to abolish that part of the trade which applied to the supply of foreigners. He was opposed by Sir William Yonge, but obtained leave to bring it in by a majority of 63 to 40 votes. After a severe struggle, the bill was carried in the Commons, but lost in the Lords. The examination of evidence relative to the slave-trade was shortly after wholly dropped by the Lords; and at this time the health of Mr. Clarkson was so shattered that he could do no more. The exertions and anxieties of Mr. Wilberforce and the committee had also affected their health; yet they determined to persevere in the promotion of their great object as long as their faculties permitted them. There was a lull, however, during 1794, no motion having been submitted to the Commons. In 1795 Mr. Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade. This motion was necessary, if, according to the resolution of the House, the slave-trade was to cease in 1796. It was opposed and lost by a majority of 78 to 57. The cherished expectation of the committee was thus blighted. In their report for that year, they say, "We entertained hopes, as we reasonably might, that the very numerous and pressing declarations of the people of this country against the slave-trade would have had so much weight with the legislature as to induce them, at least, to abolish it in such a time and such a manner, as might not be reasonably complained of by its abettors. These hopes were confirmed by the resolutions of the House of Commons. Contrary to all expectations, however, a late decision of that House too evidently shows its reluctance to act consistently with its own resolutions, and we are reduced to the sad necessity of informing our friends that all our hopes from that quarter are nearly vanished."

In 1796, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his efforts. He asked leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade, but in a limited time. The motion was opposed, but carried by a majority of 93 to 67. Its second reading was carried by a majority of 64 to 31. On the third reading it was again opposed, but carried by a majority of 76 to 31. The bill then went into committee; several clauses

were adopted, and the 1st of March, 1797, was fixed for the abolition of the trade; but in the next stage, after a long speech by Mr. Dundas, it was lost by a majority of 74 to 70. This decision added greatly to the despondency of the friends of abolition. The committee were engaged in repelling the injurious charges brought against them by the pro-slavery party. The public services of this hitherto active body became, from this time to the year 1804, almost entirely suspended.

In consequence of the turn which things had taken in the Commons, and whilst Mr. Wilberforce was doubtful what course he should pursue during the session of 1797, an address was moved to the king by Mr. C. Ellis, humbly requesting that he would give directions to the Governors of the West India Islands, to recommend it to the colonial assemblies to adopt such measures as might appear to them best calculated to ameliorate the condition of the negroes, and thereby to remove gradually the slave-trade. This motion was opposed, for obvious reasons, by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, but was at length carried by a majority of 99 to 63.

In the year 1798, Mr. Wilberforce asked leave to renew his former bill for the abolition of the slave-trade within a limited time. Among those who supported him, on this occasion, was Mr. Canning; but he was defeated, 83 voting for his motion, and 87 against it. Undismayed by these frequent disappointments, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion in 1799, but notwithstanding the powerful support of his friends Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, he again lost it; the majority against it being 82 to 74. Mr. Dundas ought, undoubtedly, to have aided Mr. Wilberforce on this occasion, but, as usual, he opposed him, and was assisted by Mr. Jenkinson and Mr. Addington in protracting the existence of the hateful traffic. The years 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803, were allowed to pass over without the usual annual motion; Mr. Wilberforce contenting himself with moving for papers from time to time, and in assuring the House that he had not grown cool in the cause, but that he would agitate it in a future session.

(To be continued.)

SLAVERY IN CHINA.

(From the New York Journal of Commerce.)

From a private letter, dated Canton, Jan. 1846.

Of all the men on the face of the globe (and I have sojourned among several nations in my life), I have never seen any equal to the Chinese in the love of money. It is said that this people have many idols, and so they have; but they are all worshipped as a means to an end; and their worship appears to be narrowed down to that one great ultimate end-riches and the enjoyment of riches. Every city, and every street, nay, every house of every street, as far as I have seen, has a niche on the side towards the street, dedicated to the god who brings riches. And impious would that man be esteemed, who neglected to light a taper, and burn three incense sticks every evening before that all-adored idol. Even now do my ears ring with the exclamation of horror which burst from my landlord, some few nights ago, when, on taking possession of the premises, his incense pot was thrown into the street. That landlord now, of his own accord, comes almost every evening to my study, to join in reading the Bible, and uniting in prayer to the true God with the disciples.

The prominent position which the subject of slavery is occupying in the mind of Christians at home, led me to inquire into its existence in this great provincial city-Canton. It seems that among the one million of inhabitants, which it is said this city contains, there are estimated to be about one hundred thousand slaves, all of which are females; that is to say, the number of male bondmen is not computed to be beyond one hundred. The reason of this disparity of numbers, is the following: - The male, slaves in China, are chiefly employed in agricultural pursuits, and therefore are not found in cities; whereas the female slaves are chiefly employed in swelling the harems of the rich. It is not legal in China to have more than one wife, though it is legal to have as many concubines, as one can maintain. The former invariably maintains her superiority over the other inmates of the inner apartments, not deeming that her rights and privileges are at all invaded by the number of the females who look to her husband for support. The number and beauty of these slaves are limited only by the ability of the owner to support them. I was in a house the other day, the owner of which has from twelve to fourteen female slaves besides his wife. Some of them are very pretty, and one of them cost

her owner five thousand dollars. The general average price of a slave, whether male or female, is from two hundred to five hundred dollars each. When old, and unable to work, these slaves are made either to act as door keepers to the houses of the rich; or, like worn-out horses in the streets of New York, they are turned out of doors to beg and die. And, as in one case, so in the other the former owners are not regarded as deserving censure or notice for such abandonment.

The supply of slaves to meet the demand is, generally speaking from such sources as the following:—A debtor, hard pushed by his creditors, will sometimes sell his wife, or children, or even himself, (having no family), into slavery, to pay his debts. Orphan children, left destitute, are often sold into slavery, merely to procure their support. Parents, or guardians, will often sell those under their care, either to get rid of the charge, or to make a little money. There came a very decent woman to my house, not long since, very anxious to sell me (what she said was) her own grandchild (two years old) for the sum of six or eight dollars. Very large numbers of slaves are those who in infancy, or too young to remember, were kidnapped from their friends. For many make it a business to procure young children, and maintain them to adult age, either to sell, or make them minister to the carnal appetites of the people.

Chinese slaves are not to be distinguished in colour of the skin, in dress, or in any other particular, from freemen; except that when quite young, female slaves generally have their braid of hair wound with a string some six or eight inches from the head, while free girls have the braid tied close to the head. The former, too, generally have large feet, while the latter, except the boat women, and the very lowest order of respectable women, have the feet cramped in infancy.

Female infanticide in China, about which I have read so much in American papers, or in books on China, (very rarely if ever occurs in Canton. Not only have I never seen a case myself, but I have not seen an intelligent Chinaman who tells me from his own personal knowledge of a case of the kind. Indeed, I suppose infanticide in Canton does not now exist; not because the people are any better than they formerly were, but simply because it is not in the nature of a Chinaman to throw away anything which can be turned into money; and they all know that a child, male or female, will bring from ten to thirty dollars, according to its health and beanty.

I have often thought, in connection with this subject, what miserable lives those persons would lead, who should come as missionaries to this country, resolved that they would neither touch, taste, nor handle, anything that was the product of slavery. Not only does a very great portion of the tea, and silks, exported to the United States, come from the hands of slaves, but in like manner, that consumed here, as well as perhaps four-fifths of the food offered for sale, passes through the hands of those who are slaves, in the very strongest sense of the term. For, be it understood, that the children, to the farthest generations, of a slave, are likewise slaves, until they are bought, or liberated, from their despotic masters.

THE BIBLE ARGUMENT AGAINST SLAVERY .-- No. 7. WERE MASTERS THE PROPRIETORS OF SERVANTS AS LEGAL PROPERTY?

This topic has been unavoidably somewhat anticipated, in the foregoing discussion, but a variety of additional considerations remains to be noticed.

I. Servants were not subjected to the uses nor liable to the contingencies of property. 1. They were never taken in payment for their masters' debts. Children were sometimes taken (without legal authority) for the debts of a father. (2 Kings iv. 1; Job xxiv. 9; Isa. l. 1; Matt. xviii. 25.) Creditors took from debtors property of all kinds, to satisfy their demand. Job xxiv. 3, cattle are taken; Prov. xxii. 27, household furniture; Lev. xxv. 25—28, the productions of the soil; Lev. xxv. 27—30), houses; Ex. xxii. 26, 27; Deut. xxiv. 10—13; Matt. v. 40, clothing; but servants were taken in no instance. 2. Servants were never given as pledges. Property of all sorts was pledged for value received; household furniture, clothing, cattle, money, signets, personal ornaments, &c., but no servants. 3. Servants were not put into the hands of others, or consigned to their heeping. The precept giving directions how to proceed in a case where property that has life is delivered to another "to keep,"

and "it die, or be hurt or driven away," enumerates oxen, as sheep, or "any beast," but not servants. (Ex. xxii. 10.) 4. All lost property was to be restored. Oxen, asses, sheep, raiment, and "all lost things," are specified-servants not. (Deut. xxii. 1-3.) Besides, the Israelites were forbidden to return the runaway servant. (Deut. xxiii. 5.) Servants were not sold. When by flagrant misconduct, unfaithfulness, or from whatever cause, they had justly forfeited their privilege of membership in an Israelitish family, they were not sold, but expelled from the household. (Luke xvi. 2-4; 2 Kings v. 20, 27; Gen. xxi. 14.) 6. The Israelites never received servants as tribute. At different times all the nations round about them were their tributaries, and paid them large amounts. They received property of all kinds in payment of tribute. Gold, silver, brass, iron, precious stones, and vessels, armour, spices, raiment, harness, horses, mules, sheep, goats, &c., are in various places enumerated, but servants never. 7. The Israelites never gave away their servants as presents. They made costly presents, of great variety. Lands, houses, all kinds of domestic animals, beds, merchandize, family utensils, precious metals, grain, honey, butter, cheese, fruits, oil, wine, raiment, armour, &c., are among their recorded gifts. Giving presents to superiors and persons of rank, was a standing usage. 1 Sam. x. 27; xvi. 20: 2 Chron. xvii. 5.) Abraham to Abimelech. (Gen. xxi. 27.) Jacob to the viceroy of Egypt, (xliii. 11.) Joseph to his brethren and father. (Gen. xlv. 22, 23.) Benhadad to Elisha. (2 Kings viii. 8, 9.) Ahaz to Tiglath Pilezer. (2 Kings vi. 8.) Solomon to the Queen of Sheba. (1 Kings x. I3.) Jeroboam to Ahijah. (1 Kings xvi. 2.) Asa to Benhadad. (1 Kings xv. 18, 19.) Abigail, the wife of Nabal, to David. (1 Sam. xxv. 18.) David to the elders of Judah. (1 Sam. xxx. 26.) Jehoshaphat to his sons, (2 Chron. xxi. 3.) The Israelites to David. (1 Chron. xii. 39, 40.) Shobi Machir and Barzillai to David. (2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.) But no servants were given as presents, though it was a prevailing fashion in the surrounding nations, (Gen. xii. 16; x x 14.) In the last passage we are told that Abimelech, King of the Philistines "took sheep, and oxen, and men-servants and women-servants and gave them unto Abraham." Not long after this Abraham made Abimelech a present, the same kind with that which he had received from him, except that he gave him no servants. "And Abraham took sheep, and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech." (Gen. xxi. 27.) It may be objected that Laban "GAVE" handmaids to his daughters, Jacob's wives. Without enlarging on the nature of the polygamy then prevalent, suffice it to say that the handmaids of wives were regarded as wives, though of inferior dignity and authority. That Jacob so regarded his handmaids, is proved by his curse upon Reuben (Gen. xlix. 4, and 1 Chron. v. 1); also, by the equality of their children with those of Rachel and Leah. But had it been otherwise-had Laban given them as articles of property, then, indeed, the example of this "good old slave-holder and patriarch," Saint Laban, would have been a forecloser to all argument. Ah! we remember his jealousy for religion-his holy indignation when he found that his "GODS" were stolen! . How he mustered his clan and plunged over the desert in hot pursuit seven days by forced marches; how he ransacked a whole caravan, sifting the contents of every tent, little heeding such small matters as domestic privacy, or female seclusion. for lo! the zeal of his "IMAGES" had eaten him up! No wonder that slavery, in its Bible-navigation, drifting dismantled before the free gusts, should scud under the lee of such a pious worthy to haul up and refit; invoking his protection, and the benediction of his "Gods!" Again, it may be objected that servants were enumerated in inventories of property. If that proves servants property, it proves wives property. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's WIFE, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's." (Ex. xx. 17.) In inventories of mere property, if servants are included, it is in such a way as to show that they are not regarded as property. (Eccl. ii. 7, 8.) But when the design is to show, not merely the wealth, but the greatness and power of any one, servants are spoken of, as well as property. In a word, if riches alone are spoken of, no mention is made of servants; if greatness, servants and property. (Gen. xiii. 2, 5.) "And Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold." Yet we are told in the verse preceding that he came up out of Egypt "with all that he had." "And Lot also had flocks, and herds, and tents." In the seventh verse servants are mentioned, "And there was a strife between the HERDMEN of Abraham's cattle, and the HERDMEN of Lot's

cattle." It is said of Isaac, "And the man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became very great. For he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants." In immediate connection with this, we find Abimelech, the King of the Philistines, saying to him, "Thou art much mightier than we." Shortly after this avowal, Isaac is waited upon by a deputation consisting of Abimelech, Phicol, the chief captain of his army, and Ahuzzath, who says to him, "Let there be now an oath betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee, that thou wilt do us no hurt." (Gen. xxvi. 13, 14, 16, 26, 28, 29.) A plain concession of the power which Isaac had both for agression and defence in his "great store of servants;" that is, of willing and affectionate adherents to him as a just and benevolent prince. When Hamor and Shechem speak to the Hivites of the riches of Abraham and his sons, they say, "Shall not their cattle and their substance and every beast of theirs be ours? (Gen. xxxiv. 23.) See also Josh. xxii. 8; Gen. xxxiv. 23; Job xlii. 12; 2 Chron. xxi. 3; xxxii. 27-29; Job i. 3-5; Deut, viii. 12-17; Gen. xxiv. 35; xxvi. 13; xxx. 43. Jacob's wives say to him, "All the riches which God has taken from our father that is ours and our children's." Then follows an inventory of property-"All his cattle," "all his goods," "the cattle of his getting." His numerous servants are not included with his property. Compare Gen. xxx. 43, with Gen. xxxi. 16-18. When Jacob sent messengers to Esau, wishing to impress him with an idea of his state and sway, he bade them tell him not only of his RICHES, but of his GREATNESS; that he had "oxen, and asses, and flocks, and men-servants and maid-servants." (Gen. xxxii. 4, 5.) Yet in the present which he sent there were no servants; though he manifestly selected the most valuable kinds of property. (Gen. xxxii. 14, 15.) See also Gen. xxxvi. 6, 7; xxxiv. 23. As flocks and herds were the staples of wealth, a large number of servants presupposed large possessions of cattle, which would require many herdsmen. When Jacob and his sons went down into Egypt, it is repeatedly asserted that they took all that they had. "Their cattle and their goods which they had gotten in the land of Canaan," "their flocks and their herds" are mentioned, but no servants. And as we have besides a full catalogue of the household, we know that he took with him no servants. That Jacob had many servants before his migration into Egypt, we learn from Gen. xxx. 43; xxxii. 5, 16, 19. That he was not the proprietor of those servants as his property is a probable inference from the fact that he did not take them with him, since we are expressly told that he did take all his property. (Gen. xlv. 10; xlvi. 1, 32; xlvii. 1.) When servants are spoken of in connection with mere property, the terms used to express the latter do not include the former. The Hebrew word mikne is an illustration. It is derived from kana, to procure, to buy, and its meaning is, a possession, wealth, riches. It occurs more than forty times in the Old Testament, and is applied always to mere property, generally to domestic animals, but never to servants. In some instances, servants are mentioned in distinction from the mikne. "And Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their SUBSTANCE that they had gathered; and the souls that they had gotten in Haran, and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan." (Gen. xii. 5.) Many will have it, that these souls were a part of Abraham's substance (notwithstanding the pains here taken to separate them from it) that they were slaves taken with him in his migration as a part of his family effects. Who but slave-holders, either actually or in heart, would torture into the principle and practice of slavery, such a harmless phrase as "the souls that they had gotten?" Until the African slave-trade breathed its haze into the eyes of the church, and smote her with palsy and decay, commentators saw no slavery in "the souls that they had gotten." In the Targum of Onkelos it is rendered, "The souls whom they had brought to obey the law in Haran." In the Targum of Jonathan, "The souls which they had made proselytes in Haran." In the Targum of Jerusalem, "The souls proselyted in Haran." Jarchi, the prince of Jewish commentators, "The souls whom they had brought under the Divine wings." Jerome, one of the most learned of the Christian fathers, "The persons whom they had proselyted." The Persian version, the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Samaritan all render it, "All the wealth which they had gathered, and the souls which they had made in Haran." Menochius, a commentator, who wrote before our present translation of the Bible, renders it, "Quas de idolatraria converterant." "Those whom they had converted from idolatry." Paulus Fagius, "Quas instituerant in religione." "Those whom they had

established in religion." Luke Francke, a German commentator who lived two centuries ago, "Quas legi subjicerant." "Those whom they had brought to obey the law." The same distinction is made between persons and property, in the enumeration of Esau's household and the inventory of his effects. "And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his substance which he had got in the land of Canaan, and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob. For their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land could not bear them because of their cattle." (Gen. xxxvi. 6, 7.) 2. THE CONDITION AND SOCIAL ESTIMATION OF SERVANTS MAKE THE DOCTRINE THAT THEY WERE COMMODITIES AN ABSURDITY. As the head of a Jewish family possessed the same power over his wife, children, and grandchildren (if they were in his family), as over his servants; if the latter were articles of property, the former were equally such. If there were nothing else in the Mosaic Institutes or history establishing the social equality of the servants with their masters and the masters' wives and children, those precepts which required that they should be guests at all the public feasts, and equal participants in the family and social rejoicings, would be quite sufficient to settle the question. (Deut. xii. 12, 18; xvi. 10, 11, 13, 14. Ex. xii. 43, 44.) St. Paul's testimony in Gal. iv. 1, shows the condition of servants: "Now I say unto you, that the heir, so long as he is a child, DIFFERETH NOTHING FROM A SERVANT, though he be lord of all." That the interests of Abraham's servants were identified with those of their master's family, and that the utmost confidence was reposed in them, is shown in their being armed. (Gen. xiv. 14, 15.) When Abraham's servant went to Padanaram, the young Princess Rebecca did not disdain to say to him, "Drink, MY LORD," as "she hasted and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink." Laban, the brother of Rebecca, "ungirded his camels, and brought him water to wash his feet, and the men's feet that were with him !" In the arrangements of Jacob's household on his journey from Padanaram to Canaan, we find his two maid-servants treated in the same manner and provided with the same accommodations as Rachael and Leah. Each of them had a separate tent appropriated to her use. (Gen. xxxi. 33.) The social equality of servants with their masters and other members of their master's families, is an obvious deduction from Ex. xxi. 7, 10, from which we learn that the sale of a young Jewish female as a servant, was also betrothed as a wife, either to her master or to one of his sons. In 1 Sam. ix. is an account of a festival in the city of Zuph, at which Samuel presided. None but those bidden sat down at the feast, and only "about thirty persons" were invited. Quite a select party !- the elite of the city. Saul and his servant had just arrived at Zuph, and both of them, at Samuel's solicitation, accompany him as invited guests. "And Samuel took Saul and his servant, and brought THEM into the PARLOR (!) and made THEM sit in the CHIEFEST SEATS among those that were bidden." A servant invited by the chief judge, ruler, and prophet in Israel, to dine publicly with a select party, in company with his master, who was at the same time anointed King of Israel! and this servant introduced by Samuel into the PARLOR, and assigned, with his master, to the chiefest seat at the table! was "one of the servants" of Kish, Saul's father; not the steward or the chief of them-not at all a picked man, but "one of the servants:" any one that could be most easily spared, as no endowments specially rare would be likely to find scope in looking after asses. David seems to have been for a time in all respects a servant in Saul's family. He "stood before him." "And Saul sent to Jesse, saying, Let David, I pray thee, stand before me." He was Saul's personal servant, went on his errands, played on the harp for his amusement, bore his armour for him, and when he wished to visit his parents, asked permission of Jonathan, Saul's son. Saul also calls him "my servant." (1 Sam. xvi. 21-23; xviii. 5; xx. 5, 6; xxii. 8.) Yet David sat with the king at meat, married his daughter, and lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the heir apparent of the throne. Abimelech, who was first elected king of Shechem, and afterwards reigned over all Israel, was the son of a MAID-SERVANT. His mother's family seems to have been of much note in the city of Shechem, where her brothers manifestly held great sway. (Jud. ix. 1-6, 18.) Jarha, an Egyptian, the servant of Sheshan, married his daughter. Tobiah, "the servant" and an Ammonite, married the daughter of Shecaniah, one of the chief men among the Jews in Jerusalem, and was the intimate associate of Sanballat, the governor of the Samar-

itans. We find Elah, the King of Israel, at a festive entertainment, in the house of Arza, his steward or head servant, with whom he seems to have been on terms of familiarity. (1 Kings xvi. 8, 9.) See also the intercourse between Gideon and his servants. (Judg. vi. 27, and vii. 10, 11.) The Levite of Mount Ephraim and his servant. (Judg. xx. 3, 9, 11, 13, 19, 21, 22.) King Saul and his servant Doeg, one of his herdmen. (1 Sam. xx. 1, 7; xxii. 9, 18, 22.) King David and Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth. (2 Sam. xvi, 1-4.) Jonathan and his servant. (1 Sam. xiv. 1-14.) Elisha and his servant, Gehazi. (2 Kings iv. v. vi.) Also between Joram, King of Israel, and the servant of Elisha. (2 Kings viii. 4, 5); and between Naaman "the captain of the host of the King of Syria," and the same person. (2 Kings v. 21-23.) The fact stated under a previous head, that servants were always invited guests at public and social festivals, is in perfect keeping with the foregoing exemplifications of the prevalent estimation in which servants were held by the Israelites.

Probably no one of the Old Testament patriarchs had more servants than Job; "This man was the greatest man of all the men of the east." (Job i. 3.) We are not left in the dark as to (Job i. 3.) We are not left in the dark as to the condition of his servants. After asserting his integrity, his strict justice, honesty, and equity, in his dealings with his fellowmen, and declaring, "I delivered the poor," "I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame." "I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out," * * * he says, "If I did despise the cause of my man-servant or my maidservant when they contended with me, * * * then let mine arm fall from the shoulder blade, and mine arm be broken from the bone." (Job. xxix. 12, 15, 16; xxxi. 13, 22.) The language employed in this passage is the phraseology applied in judicial proceedings to those who implead one another, and whether it be understood literally or figuratively, shows that whatever difference existed between Job and his servants in other respects, so far as rights are concerned, they were on equal ground with him, and that in the matter of daily intercourse, there was not the least restraint on their free speech in calling in question all his transactions with them, and that the relations and claims of both parties were adjudicated on the principles of equity and reciprocal right. I despised the cause of my man-servant," &c. In other words, if I treated it lightly, as though servants were not men, had not rights, and had not a claim for just dues and just estimation as human beings. "When they contended with me," that is, when they pleaded their rights, claimed what was due to them, or questioned the justice of any of my dealings with them.

In the context, Job virtually affirms as the ground of his just and equitable treatment of his servants, that they had the same rights as he had, and were, as human beings, entitled to equal onsideration with himself. By what language could he more forcibly utter his conviction of the oneness of their common origin, and of the identity of their common nature, necessities, attributes, and rights? As soon as he has said, "If I did despise the cause of my man-servant," &c., he follows it up with "What then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb, make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb?" In the next verse Job glories in the fact that he has not "withheld from the poor their desire." Is it the desire of the poor to be compelled by the rich to work for them and without pay?

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd, 1846.

In the columns of the Reporter of this month will be found a memorial from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, addressed to Lord John Russell, of the highest importance; and to which we call the special and serious attention of our friends.

For many years past, it has been obvious to all who have been actively engaged in promoting the anti-slavery cause, that the Foreign African slave-trade could never be put down, or even greatly diminished, by the employment of armed cruisers for that purpose; and that they must look to other means, if the object of their ardent desires and constant efforts, were ever achieved. It is unnecessary for us to recapitulate the facts on which this conviction is built. They will be found stated in the memorial to the noble lord now at the head of the Government. It may, however,

be necessary to notice two points omitted, as we think, very properly in that document. The first is, the probable effect of the conjoint efforts of the French and English cruisers, on the Coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade; and the second is, the omissions of any reference to the British West Indies as a source whence this country may draw its supplies of tropical produce to compete with that from the Spanish colonies and Brazil.

With respect to the first point, it should be known, that the ecent convention between this country and France, was entered into, less for the purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, than to get rid of that vexed question-the right of search-which so grievously offended and irritated our neighbours. It is true that, since the formation of that convention, the French have as many cruisers on the African coast as the English, ostensibly for the suppression of this infamous traffic, yet really doing little or nothing towards that grand object. It is limited in its power of capturing slavers except they bear the British or the French flag; so that a whole fleet of slavers under the Brazilian, Spanish, and Portuguese flags, crammed full of slaves, might pass through their midst, and not one of them could be legally seized, or even detained. The French cruisers now relieve the English of the responsibility of examining the papers and the character of vessels assuming the French flag, which may be suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, and that is all. Under these circumstances, it is not likely that many vessels will now be employed by the Brazilian and Spanish slave-merchants, bearing the French flag; they will employ others. The French cruisers will, therefore, have nothing to do but watch the British, and afford French commerce on the coast ample protection. The squadron of American cruisers is stationed there for the same purpose. Now and then it may catch a slaver covered by the United States' flag, but its primary object is the protection of American commerce. Such being the case, it was unnecessary to advert to the probable effect of the two squadrons of cruisers on the slave-trade. It might be concluded, almost to a certainty, that no such results, as those generally anticipated, could possibly arise from the new arrangements.

In reference to the omission of any mention of the British West Indies as competitors in the home markets with Brazil and Cuba, we regret to record our conviction, that, under the new arrangements of the sugar duties and the irrational schemes of immigration clamoured for by the West Indian body, and unhappily sanctioned by the Government, successful competition is out of the question. Time will develop the effect of the sugar duties on the production of the emancipated colonies. They were not, in our opinion, and will not be in 1851, when the duties between colonial and foreign sugars will be equalized, in a position to compete with the countries referred to. In the meantime the principal colonies are to be burdened with enormous debts, to be repaid, principal and interest, by local taxation, to supply the planters with transitory and inefficient labour. India, Africa, the Portuguese islands, the United States, and Canada, are all to be invited to supply them with labourers at bounties of so much per head; and while it is supposed that every labourer thus introduced, will devote himself to agriculture, it is certain that, after the first year's engagement, every one who can betake himself to less laborious employment, will do so. The native Creole labourers, that is the skilled labourers of the colonies, disgusted at the injustice practised upon them by the introduction, principally at their expense, of foreign immigrants to compete with them in the labour market, and to compel a large reduction in their present moderate wages, will leave the plantations altogether, and resort to the cultivation of plots of land on their own account. Thus a large portion of the best labourers in the colonies will actindeed, it may be said they have already begun to act upon this principle; and as immigrants pour in, this withdrawal of native labourers from sugar culture will become more and more certain. How then can these colonies compete with Cuba and Brazil? Labour cannot now be coerced; it canot now be concentrated on given spots; it cannot now be forced into particular channels. The slave is free; and the immigrant must be free--free to choose his employer and employment. Under these circumstances we cannot see the probable realization of those bright visions in which some indulge, that the equalization of the sugar duties, combined with an abundant immigration, will secure the prosperity of the colonies by increasing the production of sugar.

The experience of British Abolitionists has taught them two

lessons: first, that the only true way of suppressing the slave-trade is to secure the universal abolition of slavery; and, secondly, that the employment of force having totally failed to subdue the dreadful traffic in human beings, it were wise if the Government acted upon the suggestions of the committee; and that the philanthropists of this country brought all their power to bear on the root of the mighty evil which crushes and destroys so many millions of the human race, and causes Africa to bleed at every pore.

The proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance, and the discussions to which it has given rise, have developed the existence among us of not a few men, occupying important stations is the in the Christian ministry and in society, who not only hold that it may be lawful and even righteous under given circumstances, to hold their fellow-creatures in slavery; but who justify the institution itself on the ground that it existed among the patriarchs, that it was allowed under the Mosaic dispensation, and that it is not forbidden by Christ and his apostles. These developments are truly alarming; and they become the more so when it is considered that these men possess great influence in the church and in the world; that many of them are learned theologians, and that all of them are supposed to be pious, and some eminently so. Of course if these men lived in a country where slavery was sanctioned by law, they would have no objection to sustain the relation of slaveholders. In their estimation it would be perfectly innocent to do so, and might even be virtuous. But these developments are not only alarming, they are manifestly dangerous. They who maintain the views referred to, are not infidels nor heresiarchs. According to their own protestations, they are orthodox and evangelical; and in the estimation of others, godly and conscientious men. Among them will be found ministers and members of the Established Church; ministers and members of the Free Church of Scotland; ministers and members of the Wesleyan Society; and, in fact, of the several denominations represented during the sittings of the Alliance. We deeply grieve to say this. We are pained to the heart that British Christianity should still be tainted by this corrupt and corrupting leaven. It weakens every effort to rescue the enslaved from his deep degradation and unparalleled sufferings. It closes up the sympathies of multitudes against the wrongs done to the slave; the wrongs done to his nature, to his rights, to his relations, to his prospects on earth, and to his destiny in the eternal world. When the Abolitionist thunders in the ears of the slave-holder, "It is not lawful for thee to hold this man, this woman, this child as thy slave," the cry is immediately heard, "God permitted it; the Bible sanctions it; the Saviour did not condemnit; the apostles recognised it;" and thus the conscience of the wrong-doer is soothed, and the monstrous evil perpetuated.

We are aware that the parties referred to qualify their defence of slavery by condemning, what they term, its abuses. They would not, for a moment, be supposed to sanction the application of the cart-whip or the cow-skin to the naked and shrinking flesh of the poor slave; they would not separate the slave-husband from his wife, nor the slave-mother from her child; they would not hunt the fugitive slave with blood-hounds, nor shoot him to death with fire-arms, if he persisted in his flight; they would not brand their slaves with hot irons, nor fetter them with heavy chains and iron collars, nor cast them into loathsome dungeons to pine away and die; they would not put out the eyes of their souls by keeping them in utter ignorance of the great verities of the gospel. No! They shrink with horror from all this. They would be the gentlest, kindest, most humane, and patient of masters, and their slaves should be the happiest and best instructed of mortals.

Such are the visions in which these good men indulge. Their benevolent feelings, their sense of justice, their piety, would not allow them to go further than to claim the persons of their slaves as property. They would retain the thing without its incidents; and, of course, admitting the principle, they could have no objection that they themselves, their wives, and their children should be slaves, if the laws of the country in which they were found so ordained it, or the presumption, on the ground of colour, were against them. They who maintain that slavery is justified by Scripture, must admit that slavery is not restricted to any one portion of the human race, and that they themselves might as justly be held as slaves as the most swarthy negro from the wilds of Africa. The position they take is a two-edged weapon, it cuts both ways, unless they mean to affirm that God has authorized the

whites to enslave the blacks, or Christians to take the heathen for their inheritance.

Or, to look at the subject in another aspect, supposing they so far modified their views as to consider slavery unlawful when used for purposes of gain, and not for the exclusive benefit of the slave himself, does it not follow that all the poor, the illiterate, and the vicious, the minor, and the orphan, should be enslaved? Certainly, if it be right to hold any one human being as a slave for his good, it must be right to do so in all cases where that reason could apply. To enslave the Africans for their good was originally the plea set up to justify the slave-trade; and is still used by the traffickers in human flesh to sanction their inhuman and revolting trade. It is this plea which has for nearly four centuries desolated Africa, and peopled the United States, South America, and the West Indies, with millions of victims who are doomed to perpetual slavery, and whose children, after them, through successive generations, are devoted to the same sad inheritance. In the mouths of those who use it, the plea proves too much, and is, therefore, worthless as a defence of slavery.

But has the Divine Being given his sanction to the principle of slavery? Has he authorized one portion of the human family to hold another portion of that family as slaves, and, if so, which? Certainly, if the Almighty allows one class of men to hold another as property he allows them all the rights which inhere in property. They may therefore be lawfully used for purposes of gain; they may be bought and sold and given away, as well as bequeathed. They may, when reluctant, be coerced to labour, as the ox is goaded to the furrow; when disobedient and unruly, be punished. If God has constituted men property, then they may be dealt with as property. It is absurd to reason otherwise. But to assert that God has done this is to place Him in hostility with himself, and in conflict with his royal law of love :- "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and mind, and strength; AND THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF." Now we know "that love worketh no ill to its neighbour."-neither to his nature his rights -his relations-nor to his prospects for time or eternity. It is as full of justice as it is of benevolence: it respects both the person and the property of all men alike. It is without partiality. It covets nothing. It was embodied in the life of our Divine Master and Lord, "who went about doing good;" who taught his disciples that "it is more blessed to give than to receive;" and left it as an authoritative rule of conduct to all: "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." Now this law is of universal obligation, and is binding upon all men. Will, then, those who defend slavery, undertake to prove that, in any form in which they can present it, it is compatible with the law of equity and love? They cannot. Take the case of the man who, holds the slave, not for gain, but for his own good. Has God given to him the assurance of worldly prosperity, so as to render a change of circumstances impossible? If not—then this very slave may be seized and sold, in the public market-place, to pay his master's debts, and his misery become the more intense from the recollection that his old master, so far from exercising his legal rights over him, kept him in slavery solely for his own good. But supposing that the prosperity of his master continued uninterrupted, would that guarantee his life? At any moment he may be cut off, and, in that case, the poor slave becomes the property of his heir, whose opinions and character may be entirely at variance with those of his predecessor; or, what is more likely to be the case, the property left has to be divided. In that case a sale takes place, and this highly-favoured slave is put in the inventory with live stock, implements of husbandry, household utensils, and it may be a library of standard divinity; nor should we be surprised to learn that, in token of the piety of the defunct, part of the proceeds of the sale were directed to be given to the Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, or to some theological seminary for the education of pious youths for the ministry. In the meantime the slave is transported to Louisiana—the rest may be imagined. As an additional ingredient to the bitterness of his cup, he may have married, that is to say, he may have formed a union with another slave; for marriage is not recognized by the law of slave-states, and he may have become a parent. In that case, how will his heart be wrung by the separation—the eternal separation—from the objects of his affections. Nor is this all: This slave may have become a Christian; and that fact, so far from loosening his bonds, only enhances his price in the slave-market. So much for his thews and sinews-so much for his skill as a servant, or artizanand so much for the grace of the Holy Spirit and the image of the Redeemer! We pause while we write this, involving, as it does, so great an outrage on our common humanity, and our holy religion.

We shall not deal in fiery denunciation of the men, who, unhappily, attempt to defend the system of slavery from the Bible, but feel bound to say that we abhor their principles, so far as they relate to this subject; and shall feel it to be a sacred duty to unmask them, inasmuch as we believe them to be practically infidel, antisocial, and anti-Christian; and, if our voice could be heard, we would entreat these men, as for our own liberty, to review the ground on which they stand, to peruse the unanswered and unanswerable Bible argument against slavery, which has, during the last few months appeared in the columns of the *Reporter*, and which is yet to be continued. They are bound to refute that argument, drawn exclusively from the Scriptures, before they venture again to affirm that either the law or the gospel consecrates the system of slavery, or that it can be reconciled with the doctrines, the precepts, and the spirit of Christianity.

We deeply regret that we are unable to lay before our readers the intelligence we have received from France of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in that country. We are satisfied that it only requires a combined effort on the part of the philanthropists of that country to effect its speedy overthrow. The atrocities which have, during the last few months, been brought to light before the judicial tribunals in Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Cayenne, must convince the French people and the French Government that the blow must be stricken at the root of the system before it can be destroyed. If evidence were required to prove this, it is to be found in abundance, in the deadly hostility of the leading colonists to the measures of amelioration passed by the French Chambers, which are now proved to be utterly useless for the accomplishment of their professed object. An eloquent petition now lies before us for the abolition of French colonial slavery which, we understand, is likely to be signed by a considerable body of persons for presentation to the Chamber of Deputies at its next session. earnestly hope that the utmost diligence will characterise the efforts of the friends of the poor slave in France in obtaining signatures. We trust, we shall be able in the next Reporter to give specimens of the cases lately brought before the colonial tribunals, and an analysis of the various official documents which have come to hand. We would beg respectfully to add a word to The States General are now in session. Canour Dutch friends. not something be done to bring under that body the state of slavery in Surinam and other Dutch slave dependencies? We know how deeply this subject has taken hold of their hearts, and we would venture, therefore, to suggest that such steps should be taken as the circumstances, of the case will allow, to promote the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. It is a melancholy fact that year after year passes away without any very sensible advance in the accomplishment of an object so earnestly desired by the friends of humanity. But we trust, that the efforts, both of our French and Dutch friends, will soon be crowned with complete success.

Our private correspondence by the last West India Mail is extensive, and embraces most of the material points connected with the prosperity of the colonies. Everywhere we find the late change in the sugar duties deprecated. On the subject of immigration we learn that the Coolies imported into British Guiana and Trinidad are giving but little satisfaction to their employers, who are now resolutely bent on obtaining Africans, if the government will allow them to do so. It is, however, felt that the burdens which have already been laid on the colonies in the shape of increased taxation to promote that object, are not only excessively onerous, but are fast eating up the means of the people, who are crying out in every direction against the injustice practised upon them. We therefore deeply regret to find that the loan ordinance of Guiana has been permitted by Her Majesty's Government to find its way into the British market, and that several of the leading men connected with that colony, but resident in this country, are to have the management of it. We presume that the Trinidad loan will also be shortly in the market. We would, however, have capitalists beware of these monetary projects, and recommend them to devote their money to other objects, and in more secure investments. The loans to be raised by those two colonies will amount to £750,000; but that expenditure on immigrants will involve a much larger outlay, for which another loan

will probably have to be raised. We are rejoiced to find that the tax-payers of the colonies are beginning to be alive to this important subject, and that they are seeking such a modification of their legislative bodies as will give them some power over taxation, and its equitable appropriation.

Had the leaders of the Anti-Slavery League confined themselves simply to their avowed objects, that of exciting a just indignation against American slavery and its abettors, we should have felt it to be our duty, whatever we might have thought of some of their measures, to have let them alone. But as they have gone out of their way to make a direct attack on the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to be wholly silent, would either be construed into a sign of weakness, or an admission of the justice of their charges. Now, we beg to say, distinctly and emphatically, that neither the representations of Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, nor the accusations of Mr. George Thompson, so far as the Executive Committee of that Society is concerned, can be substantiated, or justified. They have never, by any act of theirs, sought to disparage the American Anti-Slavery Society, or assailed Mr. Garrison. They have simply stood aloof from both, and have never treated either with hostility. They have had other and nobler objects in view than getting up controversies with individuals, as to their peculiar views, or with societies, as to their modes of action, and will steadily pursue the same course, whatever may be the determination of others. No doubt, when it becomes necessary, the committee will be fully prepared to justify themselves before their constituents, and to convince them, notwithstanding the denunciatory eloquence of Mr. Thompson, that they are still deserving of public confidence and support.

We rejoice to be able to inform our readers, that our friend Mr. James Richardson has safely arrived in England, after a long and perilous journey in the Great Desert. Mr. R. has made a tour during the last twelve months of 2,500 miles in northern Africa, and visited all its chief cities. We trust he will be induced to give to the world, the results of his observations, and the facts which he has collected in relation to slavery and the slave-trade. How competent he is to do this, will appear from the report with which he has favoured the anti-slavery committee, the conclusion of which appears in this month's Reporter.

We beg to call the attention of our friends to the copious intelligence, which will be found in another part of the Reporter, relating to the Evangelical Alliance. Had our space permitted, we should have commented on the doings of some of the parties connected with the Alliance. We must however, reserve our observations until the meeting which is to be held on the 4th instant at Manchester, to form the British district organization of that body. We trust that its decisions on slavery and slave-holding will be such as to satisfy the just demands of British Christians.

Poetry.

ODE ON THE DEATH OF THOMAS CLARKSON.

BY JAMES HURNARD.

Be my rude hand inspired,
That once touched Clarkson's righteous hand with joy,
While I my harp employ,
Deep in these solemn woodland shades retired.
Freedom has lost her dauntless pioneer!
One of those strong-armed ax-men who are born
The tangled path of common men to clear!
A herald of the evangelic morn,

When every chain that cramps the human mind Shall disappear—

Shall fall asunder, powerless to bind,
Like the green withs round Sampson's limbs entwined?
For as the Danite rose from slumbers deep,
The nations shall awake as out of sleep
And shake themselves from error; and behold,
Borne on the winds that round the world shall sweep,
The mists of ages from before them rolled!

The shackles of the mind

Wait to be burst some future glorious day;
But those which served the negro's limbs to bind,
Are cast for ever away!

And he whose honourable course is run,
Who raised in youth the banner of the slave,
Ceased not his toils, nor sank into his grave,
Till the great work was done;
But like a soldier, ere his setting sun,
Saw the great victory won!
When men go off life's stage,
Their actions form their monument
To every distant age.
The Chief whom nothing can content,
And nothing can deter;
A pestilential conqueror
On power and plunder bent;

On power and plunder bent; Round whose triumphant chariot wheels The blood of half the world congeals; With whom to hurl a monarch down And give away his conquered crown

Is but imperial play;
What monument, I ask, of true renown
Remains of him when he has passed away?
None! none compared with his whose loftier mind
Looks only to the good of all mankind;
Who spurns the pomp that conquests might bestow,

And, urged by zeal profuse,
Toils with unshackled ardour to reduce
The sum of human woe!
To wipe the tears that never ought to flow,

And let the captive go!
When such a being to the dust returns—
When the weak bulrush bends its trembling head—
When the lamp feebly in its socket burns,
And snow upon the mountain-top is spread—

When the sun's light has fled,
And, pipe, and harp, and lute in vain
Attempt their smooth clear notes again,
And every ivory key is snapt in twain;
Yes! when the torch of life expiring lies,
Why should we shed a tear?
Poor is the recompence which earth supplies

For man's best actions here!

And, therefore, when he dies,
We rather should rejoice, than idly mourn;

Because—redeemed and freed from worldly ties,
His disembodies spirit is upborne,

Above all tears, all sighs,
To find that best reward, that glorious prize,
A crown beyond the skies!
Emancipated spirit! wing thy way,
Amid the golden chalices of light,
Onward and onward to the realms of day!
Oh, what rare visions burst upon thy sight!
What joys, new-kindling, glad thee with their ray!

Thy toils are o'er!—

Earth's anxious cares disturb thy peace no more!

Thy task is done!—

Thy objects thou hast lived to see
Accomplished one by one!
And now, from bad men's hatred free,
Thy triumph has begun!
And lo! ten thousand of the blest,
The once enslaved, the once oppressed,
Come sailing through the blue immense
Around thy path to wait,
And with a holy violence

Escort thee through heaven's gate; Saying "Rejoice! the weary chain That bound thee to earth is burst in twain; And thou art come at length to Zion's height:

For ever now made free,
Thine is the perfect liberty
Of the blest saints in light!
'Tis thine the songs of Zion to recite!—
'Tis thine to walk in white!''

Colchester, 10th Mo. 1st.

REPORT ON THE SLAVE-TRADE OF THE GREAT DESERT.

(Continued.)

Of the treatment which the poor slaves receive from their masters, in their painful journeyings over the Great Desert, I have already said much, and it is of no use descanting on the sufferings of these unfortunate beings, the victims of mercantile cupidity

and brutish sensuality. I shall only copy two or three passages from my journal, sufficient, I think, for the object I have in view, to prove that the middle passage of "the ocean of stone and sand" is equal in miseries and horrors to the ocean of "the mighty waters." I have now, for my own personal advantage, the power to quote from descriptions of scenes to which I was an eye-witness, and no longer rely upon the testimony of others; an advantage of which I am willing to boast.

"Oasis of Sirdolavs, 10th of February, 1846.-This morning I went to pay a visit to Haj Ibrahim, and seeing a young female slave close by and very ill, I said, 'You had better leave her with the daughter of the Marabout, or she'll die like the other of yesterday. 'Oh, no;' he replied; 'she's a she-devil.' Thinking she was sulky, I said no more. A few minutes after I heard the noise of whipping, and turning round I saw, to my great surprise, Haj Ibrahim lashing with a thick whip of bull's hide the unfortunate slave. I was much displeased at this; for I thought that even if she did sulk, there was a way of curing her without this brutal whipping. About a quarter of an hour after, I saw Haj Omer, Haj Ibrahim's Moorish servant, going towards the graveyard of the Marabout shrine, and suspecting something had happened, I followed him. On arriving at the place I said, 'What are you going to do?' He answered, 'Dig a grave.'
'What!' I rejoined, 'are you going to dig a grave for the slave whom your master has just been whipping?' He said 'Yes;' but greatly ashamed and annoyed. Here we have a case of a poor thing whipped at the point of death! I only observe that it is extremely difficult to ascertain when a slave really sulks. There is no one to interpret their feelings. If they say 'they are exhausted,' they are not believed. When they drop down from fatigue and utter exhaustion, they are flogged till they get up again, or tied by the waist or the neck behind a camel, and so dragged along. And these cases of extreme weakness and helplessness are always confounded with any innocent tricks a slave may play to get a ride or any other alleviation of his sufferings. But you will be suprised to hear that though the Haj Ibrahim was guilty of flogging a slave on the point of death, and so hastening a being to eternity, yet he was one of the best masters that I met with. What, then, may you expect would be done by others?

"En route from Ghat to Fezzan, 17th of February.—This evening two little children, not more than five years of age, were shockingly flogged for picking up some moist succulent herbage, and munching it during the heat and thirst of the day's march. The excuse for this barbarous action was, that the children, in picking up herbage, might gather and eat some which would produce diarrhœa. But in the route of Aheer, or Soudan, the poor little things had been taught and encouraged to pick up herbs for their ordinary subsistence.

"Ghudwah, oasis of Fezzan, 7th of March.—To-day, a negress girl of about twelve years of age, was tied first by the nech, and afterwards by the wrist, and dragged behind a camel. She, however, soon fell from exhaustion, and was dragged over the sharp stones of the Desert several yards before she was picked up; but not by her master, but some people of the caravan who had compassion on her. Her legs and arms, when she was raised from the ground, were all lacerated and streaming with blood."

" Omm el Abeed, route of Fezzan and Tripoli, 16th of March. This evening, just at sunset, a Mandara slave came near to me, to my encampment, and began mumbling to my negro servant. Looking at him, I saw he asked Said to beg me to do something on his behalf. In a few minutes, a slave belonging to another master came up to him and began to comfort him and said, 'Go, go.' They both then took up handfuls of sand and scattered it upon their foreheads and chins, as if performing some incantation to avert an impending evil. This done, they burst into tears, and sobbed aloud. I asked what was the matter, and learnt that Haj Essnousee had sent for the Mandara slave, to beat him. I said, 'For what?' They replied, 'Nothing, nothing.' But I could not believe this. Then looking towards the encampment of Haj Essnousee, I saw him greatly excited, and calling to two other slaves, 'Fetch him, fetch him.' These slaves-I cursed them in my soulimmediately sprang up, and running like blood-hounds to my encampment, seized the wretched slave, their brother in bondage, and dragged him off to his enraged master. The poor fellow, from fear and trembling, could not stand upon his legs, and was held up by his captors. On arriving at Haj Essnousee's encampment, this ferocious man took him aside, and having pinned him down, flogged him with a huge slave-whip upon his naked

body, until the desert was literally filled with his cries; continuing to flagellate him for seven or eight minutes, till Haj Essnousee himself was exhausted with administering the brutal whipping. The Arabs of the caravan got upon their legs, from their annoyance at the sound of the whip and the cries of the wretched slave, but contented themselves, like cowardly abettors, with looking on silently and motionless. I never felt so much contempt for an Arab before. For myself, I was not near enough to Tripoli to make any effectual interference, and was, besides, at the mercy of these slave-dealers. But when the business was over, I went up to Haj Essnousee, and asked him 'for what he flogged the slave in that brutal manner?' He replied, still excited, 'Oh, he'll not eat, he's a devil; it is necessary that there should be one devil amongst my slaves!' His nephew near him said, 'Oh, he's a thief.' This is the only satisfaction I got; and I afterwards learnt that the poor Mandara slave was flogged for no cause whatever, but only to gratify the capricious cruelty of Haj Essnousee, who got into a bad humour that night. 'This Moor was born to be a slave-master,' as we say, people are 'born to be hung.' A cunning ferocity, and a genuine Moorish sensuality, are stamped upon the features of his face. He is a native of Sockna, is a considerable merchant, and was highly recommended to me by the British Consul at Mourzuk. But I was enabled to study his character en route, and found him what is stamped upon his Cain face. When flogging young females, if he could not succeed in rousing their sensibilities, as they dropped from exhaustion, by lashing their backs, he would get a stick and poke up their persons before. When too indolent to get up to flog his slaves, he would throw stones at them, wounding them in every part of the body. And yet-would you believe it?-slaves so treated were mostly poor girls, with two or three of whom, this monster in human shape was in the habit of sleeping with every night-so is lust and cruelty combined! However, I got some satisfaction upon this detestable wretch. On arriving at Tajoura, the gardens and villages which join those of Tripoli, one of the female slaves dropped from exhaustion, the blood oozing from her mouth, and she could not be got forward by the camel drivers. Haj Essnousee then cried out, 'Beat her! beat her!' But no one obeying, he took a thick stick, and jumping off his camel, ran up to her, to beat her. Seeing this, and not being able any longer to govern my temper, I jumped from off my camel also, and taking a good-sized stick, ran after him. He was on the point of commencing his brutal flogging, when I cried out, 'Hold, stop; mind what your are about, we are now in Tripoli,' flourishing my stick to strike him if he began. He immediately dropped his stick, screaming, 'That's a she devil!' But I had all the people on my side, who collected, hearing the row, from Tajoura, and he was obliged to put the negress on the back of a camel, and she kept her place till we arrived at Tripoli. It is but fair to add, that Haj Essnousee is not a true type of Moorish slave-dealers; they are usually less ferocious, and flog their slaves less brutally.

"Route of Fezzan and Tripoli.—A few days further on, a poor negress went blind and mad from fatigue and over-driving, two of the heaviest calamities that can befal poor human nature! What a happiness had she died, or been flogged to death!

"I shall only trouble you with a short account concerning the ghiblee, or hot wind from the south.

"Route of Fezzan and Tripoli.—April 1st.—A ghiblee in all force. * * I never was so astonished in my life, as when I saw the negroes on this day. They seemed as if they could bear any cold better than a hot wind. They got behind bushes, behind the camels, held up their barracans, walked behind the Arabs, crept along the ground, and invented all possible expedients to shelter themselves from the simoon of the Desert. The Arabs certainly bore it much better; and whilst pitying the helpless slaves, I could not forbear admiring the superior physical construction of the white man over the black; for the former kept up his head and faced the furnace blast, whilst the latter shrunk away as if shrivelled up with the heat; and this, notwithstanding that in the native clime of the negro, heat reigns eternally, as all its fiery fervors. . . . But this was an eminently slave-driving day, and the poor helpless miserable creatures were driven along by repeated strokes of the lash, with the most extreme violence. Haj Essnousee distinguished himself this sad day by an unusual display of active ferocity, dismounting from his camel, chasing the slaves along the route, and flogging those most unmercifully who happened to loiter behind, or fell to the ground from exhaustion. At length the wind got so furiously choking and stifling—heaven and earth seemed to conspire against the unhappy slaves, that we were obliged to stop. It was an awful moment—one of those times when the sinking mind might exclaim, 'Where is God? Has God abandoned his creatures?'"

I mention here a fact to show you what changes of temperature the Great Desert is subjected to. After this ghiblee, we had another two days further on. This was still stronger than the one now mentioned, and we at once encamped, and enveloped ourselves in our clothes, to breathe more freely. But we had scarcely encamped an hour when the wind suddenly shifted to the north, and for myself I found the bleak blast of the north as severe as the stifling simoon oppressive. When within two days of Tripoli, after a sultry day, we had a cold sand storm, for we were amongst the sand hills of the coast. The sand filled our eyes, ears, and nostrils; the air was darkened, and we were obliged to grope our way. Here again the whip alone could keep the wretched slaves on their legs. We encamped at noon, under the protection of a high cliff by the sea shore, which sheltered us from the savage gale, sweeping the bared bosom of the Desert above. But, here the slaves first saw the sea, the white surf chafing and roaring at their feet. And their first sight of this new element, in its wildest form, will be hereafter in memory associated with their most aggravated sufferings in journeying over the Great Desert. I could not help watching the countenances of these miserable victims of mercantile speculation, who from the fair banks of the Niger, its sweet waters and pellucid streams, had been forced away to gaze at the wide and boundless sea, now lashed by the tempest into mountainous heaps. Some gazed at it with most stupid indifference, others laughed and grinned, others looked blank horror, and others hid their faces, after gazing a moment, under their tattered clothes. All seemed to say, "How and what is this? Surely the deviis of the white men inhabit these

Of feeding and clothing these slaves I need only add one fact, that generally the Moors and Arabs are not sufficiently clothed and fed, and therefore it cannot be expected that their slaves should be otherwise than ill clothed and ill fed, leaving out entirely their condition, as being so many human cattle. But there is still this difference, that whilst the Arab and the Moor are from childhood brought up to these hardships, the Negroes are expatriated from a land literally "flowing with milk and honey," where provisions of every sort are so abundant, that consumers are not found to enjoy the prodigious exuberance of nature in Central Africa. Their sufferings then are extreme when they become to be daily fed on a few dates, and a little meal of barley, ghussob, ghafouly, and other African grain, some fare a little better; they are sometimes even fattened for the human shambles, or slave-market. But others, again, are so neglected as to become the true "living Some get a woollen barracan to cover them. But skeletons." mostly they are left with a tattered blue cotton Soudan shirt or chemise, to shelter themselves from the searching northern blast, which in the Saharan winter, even dries up the strength and forces of the wild Touarick, and the morehardy Arab.

Personally, I could render the poor slaves with whom I travelled no assistance, or all I could do, was, to allow the weakest to ride upon my camel whilst I walked over the Desert myself. This I did every day. I gave them also occasionally a little water—the greatest luxury in the desert, and now and then a little food. The poor things were puzzled to know how a Kafir (infidel) as the Moors and Arabs called me, could be so kind to them. But they soon instinctively collected around my tent, and were always begging some little thing. Whenever they wanted to save a few dates for the morrow, they were always deposited with me, the Kafir.

I close this account of the horrors of the slave traffic of the Great Desert with an anecdote or rather significant opinion, of the Bashaw of Mourzuk, respecting this traffic as carried on by the slave dealers of Ghadames. On visiting him one day his Highness said to me, amongst other things connected with this traffic, "I detest the merchants of Ghadames, they are the most miserable wretches upon the face of the earth—they are a nation of Jews! When they die nothing is found in their houses, nor gold, nor silver, nor money, nor goods, nor even anything to eat or drink. It appears to me that God punishes them and curses them, for dealing in poor slaves, during their whole life-time. So beware of them, and don't trust them."

As to the means of suppressing this traffic, I shall not pretend to dictate to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery

Society; but various ways have been suggested by persons in Tripoli.

1st. By shutting up the markets of Tripoli and Constantinople: so cutting off the demand. 2nd. By promoting commerce in the interior: so bringing the available resources of the country of Soudan into action, and thus preventing any necessity for slaves to support commerce. 3rd. By bribing the Touaricks and other Desert tribes to intercept slave caravans, a sort of half-measure, to be adopted if others fail, &c. &c. &c.

But, gentlemen, in conclusion, I will reiterate my often repeated declaration, "That the present slave-trade of Tripoli is mainly supported by the money, goods, and credit of European merchants, under French and English protection."

Your obedient Servant,

JAMES RICHARDSON.

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, &c.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE AND SLAVERY.

It is impossible for us, in the brief space allotted to us, to do justice to all who have taken up their pens, or otherwise engaged in the controversy on the acts of the Evangelical Alliance in relation to slavery. It is, however, necessary that we should place on record such documents as are entitled to weight, either in illustration or defence of its proceedings. Justice requires this at our hands, and we do it most cheerfully. The first document to which we shall call attention is the summary of the proceedings of the Alliance in relation to slavery, furnished by the correspondence of Sir Culling Eardley Smith with the editor of the Patriot; and the second is the explanatory letter of Dr. Wardlaw on the same subject.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS.

On Friday, Aug. 28, Dr. Schmucker, of New York, moved, and Dr. Bunting seconded, a plan of general organization of the Alliance, providing (inter alia) for the establishment of national branches, declaring that the

(inter alia) for the establishment of national branches, declaring that the members of one branch, on removing to another country, are members of the branch in that country, arranging for septennial conferences, and providing for a representative constitution of those conferences.

The first clause was considered separately. It provided that the Alliance shall consist of certain persons. Rev. J. H. Hinton moved the insertion of the words, "not being slave-holders." The clause, with the amendment, was referred to a committee. On Saturday, the committee reported: on their recommendation, Mr. Hinton's amendment was withdrawn, and a resolution adopted in its place, on Mr. Hinton's motion, condemnatory of slavery and other evils, and requiring the national branches not to admit to membership wilful slave-holders.

On Monday, Dr. Bunting moved, that the resolution passed on Satur-

national branches not to admit to membership wilful slave-holders.

On Monday, Dr. Bunting moved, that the resolution passed on Saturday should be placed among the miscellaneous resolutions, and not under the head of organization. Mr. Justice Crampton moved an amendment, that the latter clause of the resolution be rescinded; cancelling the portion which specially condemned slavery and excluded slave-owners, and leaving the portion which classed slavery with Sabbath-breaking, duelling, and intemperance. The whole matter was again committed.

On Tuesday, September 1st, the report was brought up. The following proceedings are from the printed votes:—

The committee report—

deliberations.

II. That on mature consideration of the entire subject remitted to them, the committee recommend to the conference—

1. That the amendment of Mr. Justice Crampton be finally withdrawn.

2. That the resolution adopted on Saturday evening be rescinded.

3. That the resolution submitted to the conference by the Rev. Dr. Schmucker, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Bunting, on the subject of "General Organization," be withdrawn, and the following proposition submitted to the conference in its stead:—

I. That whereas brethren from the continents of Europe and America, as well as in this country, are unable, without consultation with their countryment to settle the detailed arrangements for their respective as well as in this country, are unable, without consultation with their countrymen, to settle the detailed arrangements for their respective countries, it is expedient to defer the final and complete organization of the General Alliance, of which the foundation has now been laid, till another general conference or the conference or th

the General Alliance, of which the foundation has now been laid, till another general conference.

II. That the members of the Alliance be recommended to adopt such organization in their several countries as, in their judgment, may be most in accordance with their peculiar circumstances, without involving the responsibility of one part of the Alliance for another; on the understanding that brethren from each country now present shall act collectively in originating their respective national plans. That, in furtherance of the above plan, it be recommended, for the present, that an organization be formed in each of the following districts—viz.,

1. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, exclusive of the North American British colonies.

2. The United States of America.

3. The North American colonies of Great Britain.

The United States of America.
 The North American colonies of Great Britain.
 The kingdom of France, Belgium, and French Switzerland.
 The North of Germany.
 The South of Germany and German Switzerland.
 That an official correspondence be maintained between the several organizations, and that reports of their proceedings be mutually interchanged, with a view to co-operation and encouragement in their common object.

object.

IV. That the next general conference be held at such time and place as, by correspondence between the members of the Alliance in different countries, and by the leadings of Divine Providence, shall hereafter be actually

Sir Culling Eardley Smith moved, Rev. J. H. Hinton seconded, "That the report now presented be received."—Carried.
Rev. J. H. Hinton moved, Sir Culling Eardley Smith seconded:—
"That the report be adopted, the resolution recommended being subject to revision in its details at the next session."—Carried.
Rev. J. H. Hinton moved, Sir Culling Eardley Smith seconded:—
"That the following committee be appointed to bring up at the next session such points of business as may be found to arise out of the resolution now adopted—Sir C. E. Smith, Rev. J. H. Hinton, Rev. Dr. Steane, Rev. Dr. Bunting, Rev. Dr. Massie, Rev. A. S. Thelwall, Rev. Dr. Peck, Rev. Dr. Skinner."—Carried.

On Wednesday, September 2, the details were revised. The Alliance, up to that time, consisted of the members of the conference. It was provided, on the Wednesday, that all persons who had previously adhered, and shall continue to do so, shall be included in the Alliance; and that fresh persons may be admitted to membership of the Alliance, but only by consent of all the district organizations, or by general conference. The mutual responsibility of the organizations was also provided against.

It appears from these statements that a correct report of Tuesday's conference. The provided against.

It appears, from these statements, that a correct report of Tuesday's coceedings would have shown the following results:—

1. That the conference refused to give a diluted testimony against

That it found it impossible to retain its testimony as it stood; but that,
3. It sacrificed, to its sense of duty in the matter of slavery, the cherished idea of an immediate, numerous, mutually responsible, occu-

menical membership.
On the motion of Mr. Hinton, it rescinded the whole resolution of menical membership.

On the motion of Mr. Hinton, it rescinded the whole resolution of Saturday; but, simultaneously, as part of the same motion, abandoned the plan of organization, which it had taken weeks to mature, and adopted another in its place. By the plan adopted on Tuesday, but of which the development was reserved for Wednesday, the Alliance consists of a body of persons from which slave-owners were excluded by the Birmingham resolution; which body (by Wednesday's development) can only be increased by the consent of all the district organizations, or by a general conference.

Into the dispute between Sir Culling and the editor of the Patriot it is unnecessary that we should enter, or give an opinion; we therefore call attention to Dr. WARDLAW'S LETTER.

Sir,—Without touching on any general questions respecting the Evangelical Alliance, the nature of its constitution, the possibilities of its working, or the probabilities of its permanence, may I request a portion of your columns on the one point of slavery? On this point the Alliance has been far from getting justice: it has been maligned. All Christians must agree in approving and commending its general design. That design is superlatively good. It is the cultivation and extension of love, practical love, among the people of God; of union in heart, union in prayer,

working, or the probabilities of its permanence, may I request a portion of your columns on the one point of slavery? On this point the Alliance has been far from getting justice: it has been maligned. All Christians must agree in approving and commending its general design. That design is superlatively good. It is the cultivation and extension of love, practical love, among the people of God: of union in heart, union in prayer, union in action. Christians, then, ought to be very sure of the soundness of their ground, before they venture to take up a position against it, and to impede, and seek to frustrate, by the division of its counsels and the alienation of its friends, its confessedly glorious ends. Such is the tendency, though it may not be the intention, of the representations which, in some quarters, have been given of the manner in which the subject of American slavery has been treated in the Alliance, and of the resolutions on that subject adopted by it. An institution which has dealt with slavery as it has done, deserves not, it has been alleged, to stand; it should be scattered to the winds; it should be held up to the reprobation and "execration" of the whole world. These are hard sayings. The question is, whether they be as true as they are hard.

In the account given in the Patriot, of September 17, of the meeting of the Anti-slavery League in Exeter Hall, the chairman, my esteemed friend Mr. Burnet—is represented as closing his introductory address in these terms:—"I ought to state, in fairness to the Alliance, that the principal persons acting in it have been invited by circular to attend on this occasion. We do not ask for justice to the slave, without seeking at the same time to do justice to those who would maintain slavery". If at once admit the justice of the conclusion to which you yourself have come, that "no consistent anti-slavery man can remain a member of this so-called Evangelical Alliance." I, for one, could not remain a member of it for an hour. Now, what is the truth? It has not measure of self-knowledge and self-diffidence will venture to affirm what he would himself do, were he placed in them—that there are even cases of debatable casuistry, not imaginable only, but real, in which the decision of the question of duty might be somewhat difficult—may be readily conceded. And that we should make charitable allowance for them, when placed in circumstances so peculiar, is no more than we should claim for ourselves, were the circumstances our own. Still, this is all they are entitled to. Nothing in their condition can ever be an excuse for our implicating ourselves, more or less, directly or indirectly, in the evil, by any kind, or any measure, either of communion or of connivance. If they cannot keep their hands clean, that can be no reason why we should defile ours—why we should defile them even by clasping theirs. It is foolish to talk of any difference between the sin of slavery and the sin of slave-holding. Few things can be clearer, than that, were there no

slave.holding, there would be no slavery—that were there no holders of slaves, there would be no slaves. If, therefore, we are to have nothing to do with slave-holding. They are not only in one category, the work have nothing to do with slave-holding. They are not only in one category, they are not only in some category, they are not only in one category, they are not only in one category, they are not only in the same thing. What, they are not only in the same thing. What, they are not only in the same thing, which is not only in the same thing. What, they are not only in the same they are not only

secuted. It may be the very strength of his attachment to the cause of abolition that produces his repudiation of some of those modes; because to his judgment, be it right or wrong, they appear calculated to hinder rather than to expedite the desired consummation. I have only further, for the present, to say, that I have been grieved to see how hardly some of our fellow-Christians have treated us, because we have felt the cause of the Alliance dear to us, as well as the cause of emancipation. I am fully sensible of the danger, and have urged it upon my brethren, of our undervaluing the latter for the sake of the former. But I have been surprised at the degree in which the temptation has operated in the minds of some to undervalue the former for the sake of the latter. Christian union and universal freedom are both of them objects supremely desirable. The great problem is, how they may be prosecuted and obtained in harmony with each other. I grant that, in point of moral imperativeness, as being a case which involves the natural and inalienable rights of others, the freedom takes precedence of the union. If the latter cannot be had in full consistency with every demand of the former, the pleasure and the profit of it must, with however deep a sigh, be sacrificed or suspended. But there is no divorce between them. May God grant us both in their full extent.

My dear Sir, yours most truly,
Ardrossan, September 30, 1846.

RALPH WARDLAW.

It is, perhaps, due to the Rev. A. King, of Dublin, whose protest, inserted in the Reporter for last month, has been keenly animadverted upon, though it embodied principles favourable to slavery, that he should be heard in defence. We, therefore, give so much of his letter to the Patriot, as may be necessary for this purpose. Mr. King says:-

"It seems marvellous, that any reader of ordinary intelligence could have mistaken the tenor of my protest, particularly as my last and most emphatic objection to the report of the committee was on the ground, that it tended 'to exclude conscientious and godly men who have been living martyrs to the cause of freedom; and actually to admit slave-holders, who may choose to affirm that their sin in holding their fellow-men in bondage, is not their own fault, or for their own advantage."

"The truth is, I acted in this affair in a way that required the exercise and aid of my most powerful emotions. My protest was the result of 'a clear and deep conviction of my duty to God and to my fellow-men.' Those whom I most highly esteem and venerate, as Christian ministers, had concurred in adopting and recommending the proposition which I opposed: and when I prepared my protest, I had not the faintest expectation that it would even be proposed to rescind the former decision of the conference. With the utmost deference for those whose judgment I considered, in this instance, wrong, I wished simply to clear my own conscience, and record my own sentiments; but, in the issue, my protest became the first of the movements by which the resolution of the former session was set aside, and a simpler and safer arrangement adopted instead."

Mr. King adds:—"I undertake to prove, that the Evangelical Allience is not compromised on the subject of elevent.

instead."

Mr. King adds:—"I undertake to prove, that the Evangelical Alliance is not compromised on the subject of slavery. I, at the same time, admit, that it is not as simple or as perfect a thing as could be desired. Too much was attempted, and, therefore, too little may be accomplished. It is easy for those who anathematize it and predict its failure, to adopt a course that may appear to confirm their judgment and verify their oracles. But it is as easy for those who approve its object to contribute to its improvement and success.

"I held in the conference, and still maintain, that it were better the Alliance should go to pieces on the question of slavery, than that we should countenance or extenuate so monstrous a system of iniquity and oppression. I, and many others, continue our adhesion to the Alliance in the hope, that experiment will prove that it is now constituted so as to become the Hercules by which this hydra of American slavery shall be destroyed.

"Let all enlightened and godly opponents of slavery, who can conscientiously join the Alliance, do so; and, by the blessing of God, either of these results shall speedily be accomplished."

WITHDRAWAL OF DR. ANDREW REED FROM THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

The following is an extract of a letter, dated 26th of October last, addressed by Dr. Reed to the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, assigning his reasons for withdrawing from that body.

"The final reason weighing on my mind connects itself with the question of slavery. Undoubtedly, the Alliance were at liberty to say whether they would deal with that question. They resolved, however, to take action on it; and, in my judgment, the course pursued is the most objectionable that it was possible to adopt. The conference resolved unanimously, and under a strange ecstasy of mind, that slavery may be not only legal, but right; not only right, but in certain circumstances beneficial even to the slave. They afterwards met to rescind that resolution; not, be it observed, to meet the wishes of a small British party, who might have thought, on reflection, that it yielded too much as against the slave; but to satisfy a controlling party, who thought that it yielded too little! And, finally, it stultified itself by agreeing to expunge its own minutes, and to persuade itself and the public that it had taken no action on a subject on which, in fact, it had been more deeply engaged than any other.

"This, I think, is doing gratuitous and incalculable evil. The subject is introduced, to be trifled with and postponed. The vital interests of the slave are damaged, and, as far as possible, made questionable; and this great country-made penitent by the grace of heaven, for the monstrous wrong it had done, and giving evidence to the world of its sincerity, by inflicting on itself a penalty which stands alone in history—is made to take a lower and a most humiliating position before the eyes of all nations, and especially before those of France and America. If good is to be set against evil, the Alliance must realize a larger amount of good than the most sanguine of its friends will readily ascribe to it, to outweigh this enormous evil.

" Every member of the Alliance, as such, is now committed to hold the interests and rights of the bleeding slave in abeyance for years to come; and I cannot be a party to such a contract-no, not for an hour! I write this with intense grief. A fine opportunity, purchased, too, at much expense of time, toil, and property, has been lost; and fresh difficulties have been thrown in the way of that Christian union which shall open its arms to every professing believer in Christ, and for which every kind and gracious spirit is sighing and supplicating."

OPINION OF THE REV. JOHN ANGELL JAMES ON SLAVERY.

At the late meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held at Sunderland, Mr. James expressed himself to the following effect :-

Mr. James expressed himself to the following effect:—

"If there was a fibre of his heart which was pro-slavery, he would tear it from his heart as not belonging to him. (Loud applause.) He would not again enter the Alliance if he thought it would compromise the great anti-slavery cause. Englishmen hate slavery. (Applause.) He would tell the meeting what they hate also: they hate misrepresentation, slander, and calumny—they hate these too. (Renewed applause.) But he need not enlarge on this point; it had been so nobly and ably explained by his predecessor that he need say no more than that he was a determined, unflinching, uncompromising foe to slavery. This hand (said Mr. James) wrote the resolution against slavery adopted in the great Anti-slavery Convention several years ago in London, and I am not prepared to turn renegade to the principles I then held." (Applause.)

OPINIONS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATES ATTENDING THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE ON THE DISCUSSION RELATING TO SLAVERY.

(Extracted from the New York Observer and the New York Evangelist.)

On the subject of slavery the Rev. GORHAM D. ABBOT thus communicates his opinions to the New York Observer :-

municates his opinions to the New York Observer:—

"The subject of slavery had, from the very beginning, awakened the deepest solicitude. It was well known, that a certain party were resolved to make slave-holding a test of membership. The American brethren, on their arrival in London, found a state of things in connection with this subject, that almost crushed their hopes of any general union among the friends of evangelical religion. The whole of Great Britain had been pervaded with the spirit of certain persons, who profess to be doing service to God and to man, by defaming and reviling the best portion of God's heritage in the New World, and doing their utmost to hold up his children indiscriminately to scorn and infamy. Long-continued and oft-repeated slanders had produced their effect. And large masses of the best hearts in Old England had been led to look upon American Christians and American religion, with about as much favour as the bankers did upon American securities. Suspicion and mistrust fell upon them like a spell. Probably few would be willing to admit the extent to which their minds had been poisoned. But I do not know of the American who was not made to feel, in the presence of his British brethren, that there was a want of confidence in him. Under all the forms of external politeness, and even of kindness, there was a certain something, that savoured of a want of confidence in him. Under all the forms of external politeness, and even of kindness, there was a certain something, that savoured of a deep, though perhaps vague and undefined impression, that an American Christian must have an essential obliquity in his moral vision: and that, some how or other, human depravity and sin on our side of the Atlantic assumed such forms, that it was impossible for an American believer really to enter into and understand the spirit of the gospel. At any rate, that he did not understand the meaning and bearing of the great royal law. Hence, the American was treated with great kindness; but it was the kindness of condescension."

In referring to the famous Birmingham resolution, which was intended to exclude slave-holders from the Alliance, Mr. Abbot observes :-

to exclude slave-holders from the Alliance, Mr. Abbot observes:—

"I do not know of an American brother who did not feel aggrieved by this course of proceeding subsequently to the publication of the Liverpool Circular. But it was generally understood, that our British brethren had passed through no small trial and difficulty, in harmonising the conflicting views among themselves, particularly on this exciting subject; and that these resolutions should not be understood, by any means as expressing the sentiment of the entire body. It was therefore deemed desirable by the Americans, that all should go into the Alliance by subscribing the articles which others subscribed, and protesting against the Liverpool and Birmingham resolutions. They believed, that, by a calm, dispassionate, and Christian course, they would be able to satisfy the Alliance that these resolutions were neither fair nor courteous, nor kind nor wise."

The opening of the discussion in the Alliance by the Rev. J. H. HINTON, is thus referred to by Mr. ABBOT:

"Mr. Hinton professed regret for the necessity of introducing this subject, his innocence of any responsibility for so doing, and of any agency in any calamitous consequences. They were responsible who were connected with the system, and who, while more or less implicated, had been admitted as members of this organization. He feared that slave-holders would find their way into the Alliance. To them, he could not give the right hand of fellowship. He could not receive it from them. He could not recognise them as Christians. He urged the action of the committee in the preliminary meetings, and especially the Birminghamnresolutions, as requiring, in all consistency, the adoption of his amendmet. He also declared, that a large portion of the British Christians had entered the Alliance under pledgeg on this subject; that British abhorrence of slave-

holding rendered any fellowship with slave-holders impossible; that slave-holding was manstealing, and that, when he could acknowledge a sheep-stealer to be a Christian, he could acknowledge a man-stealer to be one;—and many other things to the same purport; and, with searce a shadow of discrimination, he grouped us all together, as 'connected with the system,' 'more or less implicated,'—a brotherhood of sheep-stealers.—Mr. Himes, in seconding the motion, manifested a different spirit. He spoke, in a becoming manner, of the corrupting influences of the system of slavery; of his sympathy with the slave; and of his great anxiety that the Alliance should in no way sanction this worst of abominations, but should give the whole weight of its influence to do it away.—At this point, Sir Culling interposed, and expressed to the Conference his surprise and admiration, at the calmness, silence, and Christian spirit of the American brethren, and attributed it to the grace of God, that they were enabled to listen, as they did, to remarks which must have cut to the heart's core."

So far as Mr. Hinton is concerned, we have reason to believe that the foregoing statement is in a very great degree devoid of truth, and is calculated to make a wrong impression of what that gentleman both said and did. Mr. Abbot proceeds :-

"On reviewing the whole subject, it presented itself to the minds of the American brethren thus:—
"1. They had crossed the Atlantic on the invitation of their British fellow-Christians. The invitation which was received and accepted, made no allusion whatever to the subject which has occasioned all this difficulty.
"2. The Conference had established the basis of the Alliance, as a doctripal one and in Article IV of its Destripal Basis, it symphotically

trinal one; and, in Article IV. of its Doctrinal Basis, it emphatically disclaimed the character of an 'ecclesiastical organization,' or the 'functions of a church,' and declared its purpose to promote its single and comprehensive object, without interfering with or disturbing the order of any branch of the Christian church to which its members may respectively

any branch of the Christian church to which is members may belong.

"The introduction of this subject was inconsistent, contradictory, and subversive of all the work the Conference had performed, and was disturbing the order, destroying the union, and paralyzing the usefulness of every branch of the Church in America.

"3. The action of this body, as contemplated, was in effect a judicial proceeding. There were probably some thousands of ministers, and some hundreds of thousands of professing Christians, many of whom bore as much of the image and of the spirit of our Master as any in the Alliance, and who were, by this resolution, without citation, without hearing, without a witness, without any form of justice whatever that would be recognized in any civil or ecclesiastical court, tried, sentenced, and delivered over to a judgment, in the eyes of the world, that this body had no authority to pronounce. It was a proceeding unparalleled in the history of the church.

church.

"4. It was not only interfering with and disturbing the order of every branch of the Christian church in America; but it would be regarded as British interference in the civil, political, and financial affairs of another nation,—an interference which no member of the family of nations has any right to exercise with the concerns of another. In America, it is a great political question,—an element of potent influence in the policy of States, and felt in the councils of every legislature of the Union, and more than once threatening to dismember Congress itself.

"It is a great financial question, involving legal rights of property to the amount, at the least calculation, of twelve hundred millions of dollars, or three hundred millions of pounds sterling,— nearly one half the amount of the national debt of Great Britain.

"It is a great ecclesiastical question,—affecting the harmony and the

of the national debt of Great Britain.

"It is a great ecclesiastical question,—affecting the harmony and the action of our Assemblies, Conferences, Conventions, Synods, Presbyteries, Missionary Boards,—and, in fact, influencing the feelings and the councils of almost every church in the land.

"The action of this body on this subject is an interference in all these respects. And it is a summary disposition of a momentous evil, so deeply imbedded in the institutions of half a continent, that its removal is like uprooting the range of the Alleghanies.

"5. This action will do no good,—none in England, none in America, none in the northern states, none in the south, none to the slave-holders, none to the slaves. Its influence will be only evil—evil everywhere, evil continually.

none to the slaves. Its influence will be only evil—evil everywhere, evil continually.

"6. It is entirely contrary to the spirit of the gospel. Joseph did not take this course with his brethren, and he had as much reason to hate slavery as any of us. Jesus did not take this course. Had he been guided by this denunciatory and excommunicating spirit, neither England, nor America, nor our world, would have been blessed by his 'coming' to win a wretched world of sinners and of slaves from iniquity and death.

"7. It does not imply any participation in the sin of slavery, to recognise as Christians, 'individuals who, whether by their own fault or otherwise, may be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves.' John Newton was a Christian when he was a slave-dealer on the coast of Africa. God owned and blessed him as a Christian then. Did God sanction the slave-trade?

"Jesus sat and ate with publicans and sinners. Was he contaminated?

Did God sanction the slave-trade?

"Jesus sat and ate with publicans and sinners. Was he contaminated?

He taught the woman of Samaria, and received a cup of water from her hands to drink. Did he sanction her past life of sin?

"8. But, last of all, the basis has been settled. It had been published to the world. Not a few of the members of the Alliance, and some from America, had left for their homes, with the published basis in their hands, and now to reverse and undo all by such revolutionary proceedings, seemed to the American brethren, an act against which they must protest to the last.

"With these views and feelings pressing strongly on my mind, I felt it a duty to enter my protest against this proceeding. I had taken hitherto no part in the discussions. Respect for my seniors forbade. I had not been present at the vote at the late hour on Saturday evening, having understood that there was no probability that the Committee would report

before Monday.

"After the reading of the minutes, I asked permission of the Chairman, to make an explanation on the resolution of the last sitting. Having permission, I stated my conviction that the Conference were altogether under a misapprehension, in supposing that this subject was settled in a manner satisfactory to the American churches. I deemed it of the greatest im-

portance to disabuse their minds of such an impression now. In my judgment, as matters stood, union and co-operation between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family, on the two continents, had come to an end, and that this would be the last delegation from any considerable number of American churches to this Alliance. Individuals might come: but I could not believe that any one of our ecclesiastical bodies would, under existing circumstances, embrace the fraternal relations of this body. "I had no authority to speak for any one. But I believe that millions of my countrymen would approve and sanction the protest that I entered. In the name of America, I desired to protest that on a subject of so much magnitude, our country had not been heard as she deserved to be, before taking such action as this. And I begged to refer the Conference to others for a corroboration of my own impressions.

"Several brethren followed, sustaining entirely the impression I sought to convey.

"The proceedings of the Conference were arrested. An hour or two of general discussion ensued, during which the following protests were submitted to the Conference.

The protests referred to appeared in our last Reporter. The conclusion of the whole matter is thus announced by Mr. Abbot :-

"The whole subject of slavery is left out of the constitution of the Alliance, and remains, with other evils with which the world is filled, to be relieved and ultimately removed, in God's appointed way, by the progress of the principles of the gospel of Christ. The plan of general organization is somewhat modified, and the way left entirely open for the American churches to form a corresponding Alliance for our own continent, under the most happy auspices. We shall be sgreed with the whole evangelical world in the unity of the FAITH OF OUR ALLIANCE. Thus has closed the most interesting and important assembly in the Christian era. During this discussion we were greatly indebted to the calm and clear reasoning, and the Christian spirit exhibited in the addresses and the private influence of Dr. Beecher, Dr. Skinner, Dr. Dewit, Dr. Cox, Dr. Patton, Dr. Peck, Dr. Olin, Dr. Emory, Dr. Erskine Mason, Dr. Schmucker, Dr. Baird, Dr. Smyth, Rev. E. N. Kirk, Rev. Mr. Pomeroy, Rev. T. Brainard, Rev. E. P. Humphrey, and Rev. Mr. Adger, missionary from Smyrna, R. T. Haines, Charles Butler, Daniel Safford, and Sidney E. Morse, Esqs. Our country is indebted to these men, and others who ought to be named, for a great service."

In commenting upon the report of Mr. Abbot, the editor of the

In commenting upon the report of MR. ABBOT, the editor of the New York Observer, "in the noble ground assumed by the American delegates, and successfully maintained," sneers at the "obnoxious resolution of Saturday," and regards the attempt to introduce the subject of slavery, as a test of membership, first, of this Conference, and, secondly, of the general Alliance, as a breach of faith." We must leave the originators of the Alliance to defend themselves from this

Dr. BAIRD, in a letter to the New York Evangelist, says :-

"I am not at all sorry for the discussion. It has made the subject of slavery as it exists in the southern states, and the relations which Christians sustain towards it, far better understood than they ever were before in this country, at least so far as the hundreds of excellent brethren who were present are concerned; much good will result from it. In these debates, Dr. Cox was pre-eminent, though others (and among them I may mention Drs. Olin, Patton, Peck, Beecher, and Smyth, and Messrs. Kirk, Emory, Brainard, and Pomeroy) took a prominent part. And whilst all acknowledged and denounced the evils of slavery, they also denounced the folly, the madness even, of foreigners, and especially Englishmen, interfering with the subject."

Now with such statements as these before them, can any one doubt for at that in the district organization of the Alliance to be formed in the United States, slave-holders will be admitted? We think not; nay, we are persuaded that, unless the slave-holding professors of Christianity should resent the general proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance on the subject of slavery, they will join it for the purpose of showing that American Christianity is not quite as fastidious as British.

THE REV. M. M. CLARK ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

We are glad to reprint the following letter, addressed to the Editor of the Patriot, by the Rev. M. M. Clark, the gentleman whose speech at the recent Evangelical Alliance meeting, Norwich, has given rise to so

STR, - I regard the circumstance of my visit to England as an important era in the history of my life, respecting particularly the subject of American slavery. I have not been accustomed in America to view the subject in exactly the same moral light in which I see it is viewed in this country. This is accounted for by the different medium through which it is viewed in the immediate vicinity of slavery, and that of perfect freedom from such darkening influence. I confess I have been benefited in my views of slavery and slave-holding since I came to this country; and I regard the discussion which has arisen as providential, tending much to inform the public mind upon the subject, as well as to give me clearer views of what is Christian duty regarding slavery. It is true that there is no law of the United States against the emancipation of the slaves; but there is that which amounts almost to a practical prohibition of immediate emancipation, in the law, that freed slaves must leave the slave states within a given time, or they would be seized, imprisoned, and sold, perhaps for ever. This is a practical difficulty, which amounts, in very many instances, to positive prohibition, especially as such slaves, if they had the means, could not be transmitted by any public convey-

ance.* They must steal away and pursue their flight by night. It is very romantic to talk of their following the north star. This might be done by one in five thousand, but not by the mass, the aged, the infirm, and the young; but, especially in the states which are more distant from the free states. It was to such circumstances I publicly referred, and which have not been understood. Therefore, lest I should appear before the public of this country as one, in any degree, palliating the crime of slave-holding, I feel it my duty to state, explicitly and unhesitatingly, hat, while a man holds his fellow-man in slavery, he sins against the laws of God; and the gospel exhorts all sinners to immediate repentance. In regard, however, to the duty of the Christian church respecting the admission of slave-holders to its communion, I find, in this country various opinions among the best informed. But, viewing it myself in the clearer moral light enjoyed in this free country, it does appear to me that slaveholding must, on the one hand, inflict an evil and impose a blot upon churches receiving slave-holders into communion; or, on the other hand, cause a privation to be felt by those whose difficulties in ridding themselves immediately of slave-holding are insuperable. I see clearly that the latter consequence is to be preferred. It is far better, in any case, that the slave-holder should endure the privation of communion, than that the church of Christ should even appear to connive at sin. My own mind is, that the churches in America ought to use the whole weight of their influence against the practice of slave-holding; and one way in which they might powerfully exert their influence would be to determine by the Scriptures (which they can easily do), that slave-holding is a sin against God; and he that continues in habitual known sin, can be, and ought to be, subjected to the rules of the church, as in the case of other habitual sins. In this, the church would be doing nothing more than acting out her legitimate functions-coming out from the world, and placing her upon a high hill, where her light could be seen, and where she would teach the world this lesson, that she could not give her influencenot sanction or connive, in the least degree, at the sins of the world. The world would soon begin to feel and acknowledge her moral power, and gradually submit to her authority. But, while she connives at it, and cherishes it in her bosom, she compromises with the slave-holder, casts away her own power and influence, and is found shaking hands with the

I am, Sir, yours respectfully, &c.,

M. M. CLARK.

Brighton, Oct. 9th, 1846.

* No coloured man can travel by the public conveyances in the slaveholding states of America, without the personal testimony of a white man, as to his being free. No manumission certificate is sufficient. The difficulty of a slave obtaining such white testimony amounts to obstruction; to say nothing of wicked men in the slave states through which they have to pass, robbing freed men of their papers, and immediately selling their persons into perpetual bondage; and the poor sufferer has no redress .- M. M. C.

FREE-LABOUR PRODUCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

It is well known to those who have taken an active part in the origin and subsequent proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that amongst the means to be employed by the Society is the following:-" To recommend the use of free-grown produce (as far as practicable) in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour."

I am not about to enter at present into a lengthened argument in favour of the conduct thus recommended. If it be true that the receiver is as bad as the thief, it follows clearly, in my opinion, that we are not at liberty to purchase needlessly the produce of a system involving not only wholesale robbery, but the commission of almost every wrong by which humanity is outraged and the just and benign precepts of the gospel are trampled under foot. But not only on the ground of high and sacred principles are we bound thus to act. If we look to the effect of the large demand for slave produce which has too long existed in this and other countries, we shall find that it has furnished, and still furnishes, the motive for the continuation and extension of slavery on a stupendous scale in the United States of America. In a similar manner, the demand in foreign countries for the staple articles of Brazil and the Spanish islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, occasioned a great addition to the slave population of those regions procured by means of the African slave-trade.

We deeply lament that Great Britain is henceforth to afford a fresh motive for the prosecution of trade in men-that nefarious traffic-by becoming larger purchasers than heretofore of slave sugar; an event that has been hailed, as we are informed, by an illumination in the great slave mart of Cuba and the Havana. It is painful to dwell on these facts; but is it not time seriously to consider whether it is not a duty incumbent on the Abolitionists of Great Britain, and on those of other countries, to refuse any longer to contribute to the gain of oppression by the purchase of its fruits; whilst at the same time they use every other means

in their power to promote the speedy downfall of a system hateful in the sight of a holy God, and of every enlightened Christian. It is the desire of the writer that a meeting should be held at an early day, consisting of the friends of the slave from various parts of Great Britain to consider the propriety and practicability of carrying out to a far greater extent than has hitherto been done the views briefly advocated in this letter, on which I shall be glad to receive communications from any of the readers of the Reporter, directly, or through the medium of its columns.

I remain, respectfully, thy Friend,

GEO. WM. ALEXANDER.

Stoke Newington, 10 mo. 31st, 1846.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SLAVERY.

United States. Maintaining Theological Seminaries .- The following is the conclusion of an advertisement in the Savannah Republican of March 23, 1845 :-

"Also, at the same time and place, the following negro slaves, to wit: Charles, Peggy, Antonet, Davy, September, Maria, Jenny, and Isaac, levied as the property of Henry T. Hall, to satisfy a mortgage fi. fa., issued out of the Supreme Court, in favour of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary of the SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA, vs. said Henry T. Hall. Conditions, cash.

C. O'NEAL, Sheriff M.C."

BUYING CHURCH FURNITURE .- A runaway slave, in 1841, assigned the following as his reason for not communing with the church to which he belonged at the South. "The church," said he, "had silver furniture for the administration of the Lord's Supper, to procure which, they sold my brother / and I could not bear the feelings it produced, to go forward and receive the sacrament from the vessels which were the purchase of my brother's blood."

SUPPORTING CHURCHES BY SLAVE-JOBBING.—The Rev. J. Cable, of Indiana, May 20th. 1846. in a letter to the Mercer Luminary, says : "I have lived eight years in a slave state (Va.)—received my Theological education at the Union Theological Seminary, near Hampden Sydney College. Those who know anything about slavery, know the worst kind is jobbing slavery—that is, the hiring out of slaves from year to year, while the master is not present to protect them. It is the interest of the one who hires them to get the worth of his money of them, and the loss is the master's if they die. What shocked me more than anything else, was the church engaged in this jobbing of slaves. The college church which I attended, and which was attended by all the students of Hampden Sydney College and Union Theological Seminary, held slaves enough to pay their pastor, Mr. Stanton, ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS a year, of which the church members did not pay a cent (so I understood it). slaves, who had been left to the church by some pious mother in Israel, had increased so as to be a large and still increasing fund. These were hired out on Christmas-day of each year, the day in which they celebrate the birth of our blessed Saviour, to the highest bidder. These worked hard the whole year to pay the pastor his \$1000 a year, and it was left to the caprice of their employers whether they ever heard one sermon for which they toiled hard the whole year to procure. This was the church in which the professors of the seminary and the college often officiated. Since the Abolitionists have made so much noise about the connection of the church with slavery, the Rev. Elisha Balenter informed me the church had sold this property and put the money in other stock. There were four churches near the college church, that were in the same situation with this, when I was in that country, that supported the pastor, in whole or in part, in the same way-viz.: Cumberland Church, John Kirkpatrick, pastor; Briny Church, William Plummer, pastor (since Dr. P., of Richmond); Buffalo Church, Mr. Cochran, pastor; Pisgah Church, near the peaks of Otter, J. Mitchell, pastor."

SELLING MINISTERS AS SLAVES .- At the great Convention in Cincinnati, in June, 1845, Mr. Needham, of Louisville, Ky., said-" Sir, in 1844, a Methodist preacher, with regular licence and certificate, was placed in the Louisville jail, as a slave on sale. He preached the jail sermons, which would have done credit to any white preacher of the town. He kept a little memorandum in his pocket, in which he marked the number of persons hopefully converted under his preaching. I represented his case to the leading Methodists in Louisville, and showed them a copy of his papers which I had taken. Not one of them visited him in his prison. He said he forgave those who had imprisoned him and were about to sell him. He was sold down the river, which was the last time I saw him."

A SLAVE-HOLDING D.D. WHIPPING HIS "B-H" ON SABBATH MORNING PREPARATORY TO PREACHING .- March 28th, 1843, in a public address at Cincinnati, the Rev. Edward Smith, True Wesleyan, of Pittsburg, stated that he had lived in slave-states thirty-two years; and, speaking of a certain D.D. of his acquaintance, he adds:-" He was a slave-holder, and a severe one too, and often, with his own hands, he applied the cowhide to the naked backs of his slaves. On one occasion, a woman that served in the house, committed, on Sabbath morning, an offence of too great magnitude to go unpunished until Monday morning. The Dr. took his woman into the cellar, and, as is usual in such cases, stripped her from her waist up, and then applied the lash. winced under each stroke, and cried, 'Oh Lord! OH LORD!! OH LORD!!!' The Doctor stopped, and his hands fell to his side as though struck with palsy, gazed on the woman with astonishment, and thus addressed her (the congregation must pardon me for repeating his words), 'Hush, you b-h, will you take the name of the Lord in vain on the Sabbath day?' When he had stopped the woman from the gross profanity of crying to God on the Sabbath day, he finished whipping her, and then went and essayed to preach that gospel to his congregation, which proclaims liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them who are bound." Mr. Smith does not give the name, but from various circumstances which he states, there can be little doubt it was the Rev. George A BAXTER, D.D., of Virginia!

THE GREATEST IMPEDIMENT .- "We are about to make an announcement," says the True American, "which must sound very strange to those whose field of observation is unlike our own. The greatest impediment to the success of the anti-slavery movement in the slave-states is, the opposition to it of those men who profess to have been commissioned by high Heaven to go abroad and use their efforts for the mitigation of human misery and the extirpation of human wrong! This assertion, which appears so monstrous, will not surprise any one who lives among slave-holders. Our conviction of its truth has been confirmed by extensive observation."

Home Intelligence.

OVERTURE ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The Free Presbytery of Glasgow had a meeting, at which Dr. Willis moved the transmission of the following overture:-

"That the General Assembly take into serious consideration the relations of this church with those churches in America that avowedly provide, by their terms of communion, for the sufferance of slavery, as in the circumstances in which it exists in the American states constituting no bar to full ecclesiastical membership. And this is overtured on these grounds-1. That the late decision was come to in the absence of an important document, since published, but which, if laid on the table of the House, might have affected and modified materially the sentiments of those who judged upon the question. 2. That, pending the use of those remonstrances which this church is pledged to use with those churches still it is worthy of consideration whether the intercommunion which is in the meantime held, amounting as it does to a recognising of the general orderly constitution of the American churches, be not so indefinite in its terms as respects its nature, the parties to whom it is to be extended, and the time during which it is to be prolonged, as to be likely to affect injuriously the tone of sentiment, both at home and abroad, as regards slavery itself, and great Bible principles interested and involved in the whole question."

Dr. Willis, in a speech of great length and of great ability, sustained the overture. It would have given us sincere pleasure to have transferred to our pages this striking specimen of cogent reasoning and Christian eloquence had we the necessary space. We are truly thankful to find that the Free Church of Scotland has such enlightened men as Dr. W. in its presbyteries; as it will go far to neutralize the effect of the proceedings of Dr. Cunningham and others in the matter of American slavery.

Mr. Arnot and Mr. Lorimer opposed the overture.

Mr. Macbeth seconded Dr. Willis's motion, and ably supported the views of that gentleman.

Dr. Buchanan followed him in a speech which evaded the real points at issue, and in which he put glosses on certain texts of Scripture, borrowed from the pro-slavery party, and, in conclusion, moved as a substitute for Dr. Willis's overture, the following

"That while this Presbytery regard slavery with abhorrence, as an accursed system, equally contrary to the spirit of God's word, and to the natural rights of man, -and while they consider American slavery to be one of the most deplorable forms of the evil, unspeakably atrocious in itself, and highly aggravated by the fact, that it is maintained by a nation which boasts of its free institutions, and which has long enjoyed the blessed light of the gospel,-yet, in respect that this whole subject was fully and deliberately considered in last assembly, and the mind of this church regarding it expressed in a unanimous decision,—and in respect that, by virtue of that decision, this church is now in the attitude of remonstrating with the churches in America as to their duty in this matter, -the Presbytery does not deem it suitable to take any additional step at present, and therefore declines to transmit the overture."

Messrs. Bremner, King, Brown, Miller, and Gibson took part in the discussion, and after an admirable reply of Dr. Willis, the House divided, when there appeared for the overture-Dr. Willis,

Mr. Finlay, Mr. Macbeth, ministers. Messrs. Alex. Begg and Matthew Liddell, elders—5.

For Dr. Buchanan's motion—Drs. Henderson, Forbes, Buchanan, Mesars. Lorimer, King, Noble, Gibson, Miller, Brown, Sommerville, Arnot, Alex. Wilson, Bremner, Cunningham, ministers. Messrs. R. Thompson, jun., David Campbell, John Gardener, John Geddes, Duncan M'Nab, James Martin, elders—20.

So the overture was lost.

Colonial Intelligence.

Jamaica.—Rate of Wages.—We have advocated the principle of "a fair day's work for a fair rate of wages," and would the planter wish to secure continuous work, he must give continuous employment, and such a rate for labour, as will make it more to the interest of the labourer to cultivate sugar on the estate than it is to go to his provision ground. Mr. Smith says, "As regards wages, the most mischievous mistake exists. So far from being exorbitant, they are decidedly too low. The planter appears to forget two most important considerations.

"First.—That wages do not depend upon the necessities of the negro, but upon the demand for his labour. In Jamaica, the competitors are the planter and the provision ground. The planter must, therefore, pay more than the negro can earn by working for himself, if he expects to receive his daily labour.

"Secondly.—That the head and hands of one free man must be made to do the work of the mere sinews of half a dozen slaves. In other words that the former must be raised in the social scale—must no longer be looked upon as a mere machine—must be made to double his natural strength, by knowing how to use it. The steam engine—the plough—the scarifier—the barrow—the ox—the horse—must do the work, the man must be elevated to direct them.

"Contrast the circumstances of a peasantry thus instructed and thus employed, with those of the squatter and the immigrant; contrast, in short, the intelligence and activity of the manufacturing population of Lancashire, with the misery and beggary of the west of Ireland, and let wise men decide which is to be the safer alternative for the welfare of Lancasica."

If Jamaica is to rise in intelligence and become a commercial and agricultural country, it will not be by lowering the price of labour, or by crushing the peasant to the ground; such plans would only tend to produce demoralization and the sufferings of poverty. Labourers should be elevated and taught to improve themselves, and thus it will be seen to accomplish it, that "a labourer cannot have too many wants. He should desire good food, good clothing, a cleanly and comfortable home, and education for his children. If the standard of wants could be universally raised, the natural price of labour would rise in proportion; for if each labourer were determined not to render himself unable to gratify these wants, all could command the wages that would supply them. In civilized countries, the wants and prudence of the middle classes extend lower in the scale of society, and the labourers want more, and enjoy more of the comforts and decencies of life. Happy indeed is that country in which the natural price of labour is the highest."—Ibid.

Heavy Import Duties.—We offer our readers no apology for again

Heavy Import Duties.—We offer our readers no apology for again referring them to Mr. Smith's letters on the condition of our West India Colonies. The sentiments expressed so fully coincide with our own; that we refer to them with pleasure. We have again and again advanced the same truths, but Mr. Smith being a practical man, as well as a person of keen penetration, his remarks must have great weight upon the minds of that part of the community who are willing to take a view of the practical bearing of the various imposts that are laid upon the Jamaica community.

"The next evil," says Mr. Smith, "which besets Jamaica interests, is unwise legislation. The tariff adopted by the Jamaica legislature is peculiarly calculated to foster the system of small independent settlements on the part of the negro labourers, by the undue enhancement of the price of provisions. Quoting from the latest accounts (when, in consequence of the long drought, the market value of such articles was unusually high), I find that the present ad-valorem per centage on the import duties on the following articles of ordinary consumption were as under:—

" Beef and Pork, B. P.	231	per cent.	Foreign	46	per cent.
Bread and Biscuit	38	,,		38	,,
Butter	74	"	ditto	23	"
Candles	10	. ,,	ditto	134	"
Codfish	163		ditto	40	. "
Corn Meal	17	"	ditto	17	"
Mackerel	12	11	ditto	271	"
Alewives	18	"	ditto	86	"
Herrings	10	,,	ditto :	40	,,

Salmon Flour Lard	151	Foreign 271 per cent. ditto 25 ,, ditto 151 ,,
Rice Soap	95	ditto 18 ,, ditto 321 ,,

"A single glance at this list will show the effect which such exorbitant duties must have in checking consumption in these, and increasing to the same extent the demand for the products of the negro ground.

Betates' Management.—Baptist Herald, July 7.—A correspondent in the Morning Journal thus writes concerning a fact that came under his

own knowledge :-

"A certain property, in an eastern parish of this island, belonging to a gentleman connected with the military of England, was under the mana ment of an attorney for several years. A succession of crops were had, and for several successive years the property brought the English proprietor in debt. Notwithstanding this loss in cultivation, the attorney thought it right to put the proprietor to considerable expense in repairing the works and buildings on the estate, and, strange to say, though no one could be better aware than himself that it had been cultivated at a considerable loss for some time past, after he had got the estate put in applepie order, he wrote and offered the proprietor to relieve him of this incubus, by renting it from him at £500 a year. The proprietor, a man of business, was startled at this proposition, and concluded that either his property was not so bad as it had been represented, or that the person who offered to rent it under such circumstances was a madman, and he forthwith sent out a power of attorney to another gentleman, with directions to rent out his estate, but not to let his quondam attorney have it, if he could possibly get another tenant. This ruined and unproductive estate was no sooner in the market than there were several persons eagerly applying for it at the proposed rent of 5001. per annum. One tenant, a merchant in Kingston, and a proprietor of some estates in another parish, was accepted. The terms being fixed the new tenant went to take possession of his tenancy, and, on riding round the estate, he noticed a large field of canes quite enough to make as much sugar as would pay, for at least, the first year's rent, which ought in the regular course of plantership and cultivation, to have been cut for the preceding year's crop, On inquiring of the overseer how these canes happened to be remaining uncut, he received the following reply; 'Oh! sir, those canes were estimated in last year's crop; but as Mr. -- expected to rent the estate, he desired that they should be left over, that they might come into the next year's crop, which he expected would be his.' The honest attorney was, however, deprived of the excellent bargain he had cut out for himself, and ence of the course which the proprietor adopted, he now receives £500 a year from his property, instead of being £500 a year out of pocket, as was the case when it was under the management of a planting

"If this statement be doubted, let the House of Assembly appoint a committee to inquire into the fact, and I assure them that one of its members can prove every word to be true. As I said before, there are many such tales, equally founded in fact, but which are not made public, because truth is libel."

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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Printed by Jacob Unwin, of 33, Dowgate Hill, in the City of London, at his Printing Office, 31, Bucklersbury, in the parish of St. Stephen Walbrook, in the City of London, and published by Peters Jones Bolton, of No. 8, Kennington Terrace, Kennington Lane, in the county of Surrey, at No. 27, New Broad Street, in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopagate, in the City of London. MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1846.